

The Secular Noble Household in Mediaeval England,
1350-1550

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Doctor of Philosophy
University of Edinburgh
1981



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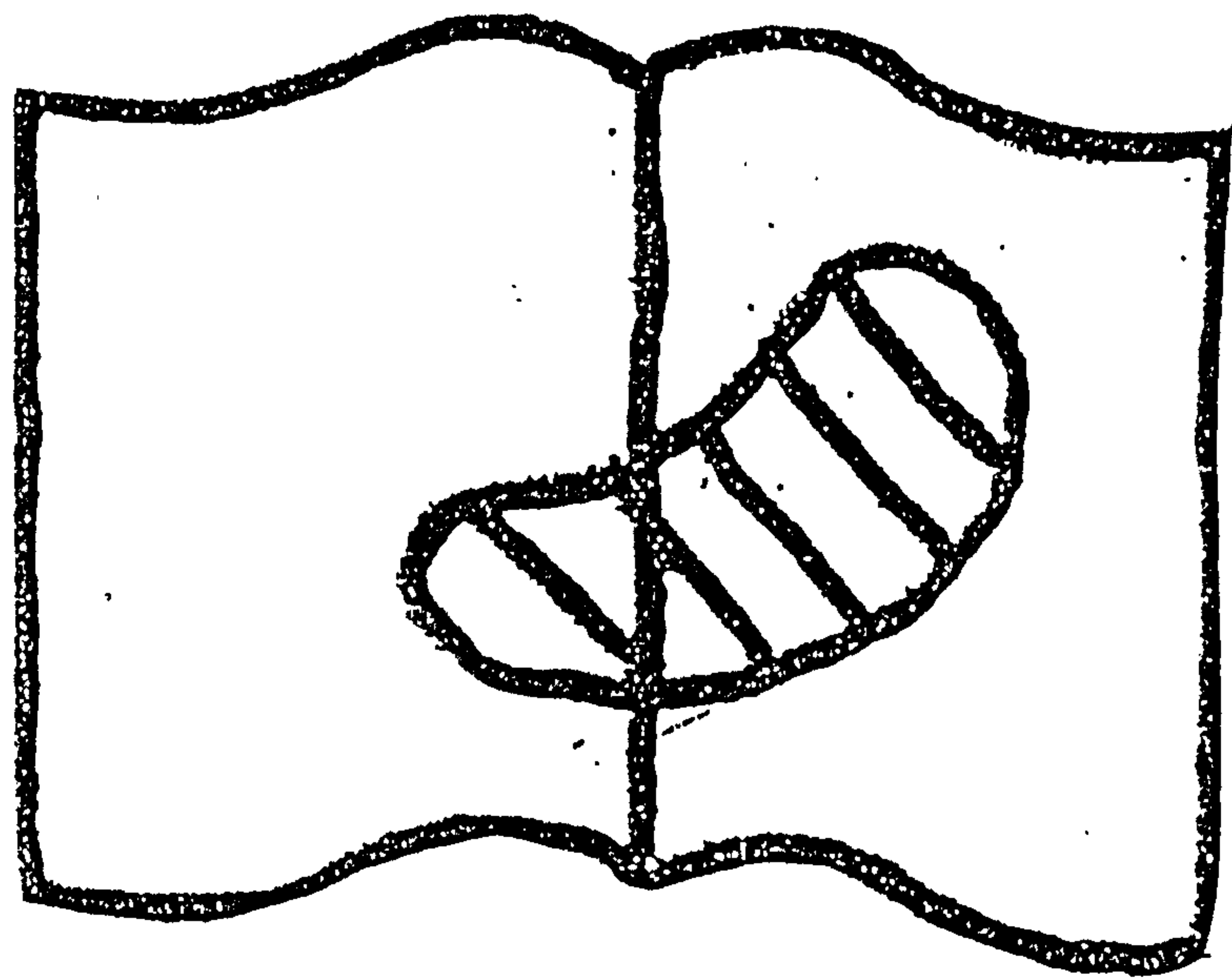


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ABSTRACT

R.A. Griffiths, in his recent article on "Public and Private Bureaucracies in England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century (in Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., vol. 30, 1980, pp. 109-130)", stated the need of administrative, economic, social and other historians for a full study of royal, ecclesiastical and secular noble households of the later middle ages. While T.F. Tout and A.R. Myers, among others, have delved into the organization of the royal household, and such historians as R.B. Dobson and R.W. Dunning have written on the establishments of bishops, very little detailed work has been done on the households of secular nobles. These private, bureaucratic and domestic structures were crucial to the functioning of English noble society, regulating personal lives and participating in the exercise of authority on both local and national levels. Therefore, this thesis, "The Secular Noble Household in Mediaeval England, 1350 to 1550", has been written as a preliminary study of these households: their organization and manner of functioning, their role in the lives of the nobles who established them, and their wider significance for mediaeval society generally.

The breadth of the subject has been qualified in three ways. Firstly, "secular noble" is a title of convenience, and has been taken to include all landowning families, titled and untitled, who did not work the land with their own hands. The homogeneity of interests, social circles, ways of exercising influence — and of householding forms — makes the establishment of an artificial boundary between peers and gentles unnecessary in this sort of study. However, this includes a very large number of families; therefore the scope of

the study is modified by concentrating chiefly on five specific families of varying rank, income and geographical location, who have left household accounts covering at least two generations. These are: the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham; the de Veres, Earls of Oxford; Ralph Lord Cromwell, his uncle and his nieces; the Luttrells of Dunster Castle, Somerset; and the Stonors of Stonor, Oxfordshire. The specific information and functioning of the five households of these families are examined in this thesis, and general conclusions drawn from these five examples are modified or reinforced by further illustrations from outside their ranks, thereby attempting to counteract some of the ill-effects of both case-studies and general surveys. Finally, the scope of the thesis has been restricted to two centuries, 1350 to 1550, and concentrates chiefly on the fifteenth century, due both to important developments within the landholding classes in this period, and to the paucity of household documents before 1350.

This thesis opens with a discussion of origins and early householding practices, and a biographical section describing each of the five families and their documents used herein. After a discussion of the accounting system whose records provide most of our information about households and which itself contributed to the peculiar structure of noble establishments, the organization of the household, the nature of its component parts, and how they function, is undertaken; and a chapter is dedicated to the individual members of the household: their origins, aspirations and ends. Three chapters are devoted to the functioning of the household in mediaeval England, and its part in its master's political interests and influences, in the balance of

local and national economy, and in the religious and social communities of mediaeval society, are determined. In conclusion, the thesis discusses the significance of the secular noble household as an institution, or framework for controlling experience, for late mediaeval English society as a whole; and reiterates the importance of understanding the household in order to comprehend, not only the English nobility, but also such fields of historical inquiry as local economic systems, peasant/noble relations and popular piety.

This thesis is based on original research done by myself, and has been composed entirely by me.

signed:

date: March 1981

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>BIHR</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</u>
BL	British Library
<u>CCR</u>	<u>Calendar of the Close Rolls</u>
<u>CFR</u>	<u>Calendar of the Fine Rolls</u>
<u>COED</u>	<u>Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary</u> (OUP, 1971).
<u>CP</u>	<u>Complete Peerage</u>
<u>CPR</u>	<u>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</u>
CUP	Cambridge University Press
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
EETS	Early English Texts Society
<u>EHR</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HMSO	His (Her) Majesty's Stationery Office
<u>IPM</u>	<u>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</u>
<u>L&P Henry VIII</u>	<u>Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII</u>
<u>NHB</u>	<u>The Northumberland Household Book</u> (Thomas Percy, ed., privately printed, 1826.)
N/N RO	Norfolk and Norwich Record Office
NY	New York
OCP	Oxford: Clarendon Press
OUP	Oxford University Press
PRO	Public Record Office
RO	Record Office
<u>Rot. Parl.</u>	<u>Rotuli Parliamentorum</u> (London, 1767-1777, in 6 vols).
<u>SL&P</u>	<u>Stonor Letters and Papers</u> (Charles Lethbridge Kingsford ed., Camden Society, vols. 29 (1) and 30 (2), 1919).
Soc Ant	Society of Antiquaries
SOM RO	Somerset Record Office

<u>SR</u>	<u>Statutes of the Realm</u> (London, 1810-1828, in 12 vols.).
UP	University Press
WAM	Westminster Abbey Muniments

Introduction

"Households;noble" is a not-uncommon entry in the indices of historical works; but it is generally followed by few page references, most of which only discuss the subject in passing. The admirable data available for the study of the noble household is gutted for other purposes. The domestic establishment is cited as a base for private armies or a network of retainers in peace and war; its function as a status symbol is suggested. However, no scholarly work on the noble household itself — describing its administrative and organizational system, and analysing its significance for the noblemen it supported — has yet been written; as a result, historians using the household, or household data, have failed to employ fully the material available, or have entertained misconceptions about the rôle of the household in noble life. For instance, K. Wood-Legh, in Perpetual Chantries in Britain,¹ fails to discuss the use of the household chapel as a chantry, despite the existence of considerable evidence attesting to such a rôle.² G. A. Holmes, in The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England,³ discusses the decline in direct demesne farming, despite evidence of considerable demesne harvests in household documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This thesis is an attempt to remedy the situation, by providing an introduction to noble households and their significance.

Of course, the noble household is not a completely neglected historical topic. In fact, around the turn of the century, in the course of an awakening of interest in social history, the subject excited considerable interest. Numerous household account-rolls were published, including the earliest then known, Eleanor of Leicester's

for 1265; that of Sir John Howard, later Duke of Norfolk for 1462-1471;⁴ and the numerous accounts of the LeStranges of Hunstanton, 1519-1578.⁵ Certain aspects of Household life, such as education and consumption, were treated by such historians as F. J. Furnivall and John Cordy Jackson; Paul U. B. Jones and C. A. Musgrave⁶ addressed themselves more directly and generally to the problem of household structure and function. Indeed, Histories involving the household continue to be written, one of the most recent being Joseph and Francis Gies' Life in a Mediaeval Castle, published in 1974.⁷ However, three major faults prevent these works from being satisfactory studies of the mediaeval noble household. Firstly, they are often strongly popularistic, and as a result are devoid of notes; often fanciful or fantastic in attempting to reconstruct fully the life of the time; obsessed with certain aspects of household life such as food and music to the detriment of such things as practical purveyance or accounting methods. The documents used are also unsatisfactory: despite the numerous published accounts, household historians have relied most heavily on passing references in chronicles, the descriptions made by later Elizabethans such as Braithwait, and ordinances such as the Northumberland Household Book: ideal rather than real descriptions, secondary rather than primary. In especial, a heavy reliance on descriptions and documents of the royal household, under the assumption that noble households invariably sprang from and imitated the King's establishment, biases and often invalidates much work. Finally, many of those writing on the mediaeval noble household have taken a strictly descriptive and rather compartmentalized approach. Paul V. B. Jones, for instance, in chapter I of The Household of A Tudor Nobleman,⁸ attempts to describe household structure; but he does this merely by

reeling off the available servants' titles he has discovered, and places them in "departments" after the manner of a royal household ordinance, without attempting to analyse the relationships between the various rôles, or the actual working method of the "departments" he constructs. This thesis attempts to balance such faults by approaching the noble household as an important institution of mediaeval English Society requiring careful, scholarly description of the method of its working, and an analysis of its functions and significance.

Three operative words in this approach require explanation: "noble," "household," and "institution." The definition of the first term has, indeed occupied western society for well over four hundred years, and this thesis makes no attempt to settle the question, merely desiring to define the use of the term within this work, and within the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Joel Rosenthal, in The Purchase of Paradise and Nobles and the Noble Life, and many other historians, have defined it as the Parliamentary Peerage; but this is far too narrow a range for our purposes, establishing a rather arbitrary line between knights, gentlemen and peers. These moved in much the same county and national society, with similar ambitions, interests, and occupations. Though hierarchical, economic and social differences undoubtedly distinguished them, the twelfth Earl of Oxford had more in common with Sir Hugh Luttrell than the latter had with the urban patriciate, though these were Luttrell's fellow MPs.⁹ The owners of Dunster and of Hedingham both obtained power from their landholdings; they sat on similar commissions; both were JPs; they were predominantly rural dwellers; and, especially important for our purposes, their households were constructed along similar lines. The distinction between "gentles" and "nobility" is at best a fuzzy one,

and a controversial; herein it is seldom made, and "noble" and "aristocratic" are used as general terms to cover the rich landholding classes.

In relation to this problem of inclusion, certain conclusions have been made. Kings, the sons and grandsons of Kings and the ecclesiastical households of Bishops and Abbots have been omitted from this study. As Joel Rosenthal posits, "close proximity to the throne was ... apt to affect ones social behavior"¹⁰ Households of those close to royalty, while deserving their own study, are in many ways intrinsically different in scale and style from other noble households, requiring a separate method of approach; their involvement in Exchequer administration alone is enough to create serious difficulties when attempting to study the household of such as John, Duke of Bedford,¹¹ in conjunction with his less royally-connected peers. In addition, the heavy dependence of earlier works on the royal household and the resultant misconceptions prompts the author to treat noble households in isolation. Ecclesiastical households create their own difficulties for the historian. Those of monastic establishments existed for different purposes and served a quite separate sort of community from the noble lay-man's household, while the households of secular bishops lacked the patrilineal continuity which is such an important feature of the lay establishment.¹² This same last criticism can be applied to numerous royal-related households.

"Institution" is a frequently-used word in modern historiography: books, papers and University courses have been built around it. It is, however, like most broad concepts, potentially dangerous, with modern connotations of rigid structuralism, that can, when improperly applied, adversely affect our examination of mediaeval

society. If, however, we accept the word as meaning a systematic, but not necessarily formal, structure through which individuals organized their lives, a framework through which they dealt with the world, "institution" becomes a very useful term, when used cautiously. The term "household," however, especially when modified as an institution of the later-mediaeval English nobility, is perhaps more difficult to define. Its very common-ness, and the resulting broadness with which it is applied, in both modern and pre-modern times, creates a considerable ambiguity. We know what we mean when we use the term; mediaeval people knew what they meant; therefore neither society has required a precise description of its own concept. But if we are to study the noble household in the fifteenth century and avoid our own assumptions, we need to establish a working definition to provide a silhouette of the household as a concept within which we may study the phenomenon. The Oxford English Dictionary defines the household as "the holding or keeping of a house or family; housekeeping; domestic economy; the contents or appurtenances of a house; the inmates of a house."¹³ It can be a place; a person or persons; or a state of being; it can be mobile or stationary, large or small. Yet, as Kenneth Clarke said of civilization, "What is [it]? I don't know. I can't define it in abstract terms ... but I think I can recognize it when I see it; and I am looking at it now."¹⁴ The mediaeval noble household can be superficially identified as a collection of servants and other retainers, around a noble and his immediate family, all of whom lived together under the same roof(s) as a single community, for the purpose of creating the mode of life desired by the noble master and providing suitably for his basic needs and those of his dependents. To further define the term "household" in its mediaeval, noble context,

one must, like Clarke and Civilization, examine examples of this sort of household, in an attempt to distil its important characteristics.

A study of the English mediaeval noble household must necessarily be drawn from three broad source-categories. First of all, what we may call the "implicit evidence" is brought to attention: what letters survive, chronicles, the various calendared government rolls, charters, etc. These documents are not specifically about the household, nor do they spring from it; but in many cases they mention noble households or relate events taking place within one, or make assumptions about household duties and powers. Such evidence tends to be rather thin on the ground, leaves large gaps in our knowledge, is often ambiguous; but it does tend to reveal mediaeval intellectual concepts of the noble household. Such "implicit evidence" is often the catalyst encouraging the historian to look further at the subject.

Probably the commonest, fullest and most easily available evidence on the noble household is that contained in what we call ordinances, royal and noble. Technically, such documents were supposed to have some legal status; but historians tend to use the term much more broadly in relation to households, to describe the type of document by its context, rather than by its legal status.

"Ordinances" for noble households, of course, never had the same force of law as a royal ordinance, though lords did attempt to prosecute servants in the courts for breaking rules contained in such documents, either by connecting such rules with legal offences such as debt and trespass,¹⁵ or by attempting to show oath-breaking on the servant's part.¹⁶ On the other hand the Liber Niger of Edward IV is usually called an ordinance, though in fact it is merely a draft for one, and could never have the legal position of an ordinance.¹⁷ Thus we use

"household ordinance" to describe a broad set of documents which are conscious and systematic attempts to define the membership of the household, their duties and privileges, and the general rules of the establishment. Many such documents exist; not only those for the Royal Household, which are relatively well-known, but also those of various nobles. Of the latter, Henry Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland's, Household Book is probably the best-known.¹⁸

Ordinances are very useful documents, as they are wholly and directly concerned with the household; they are exceptionally detailed, leaving few gaps in our information about the household which cannot be reconstructed. Moreover, ordinances give a very clear view of how a contemporary interpreted the makeup and rôle of the household and householders. Earlier histories of the mediaeval household have relied heavily on such works as the Northumberland Household Book, Braithwait,¹⁹ and the royal ordinances published in 1790 by the Society of Antiquaries.²⁰ However, ordinances have serious flaws as evidence for the noble household, and must be used with caution. One must always remember that they are conscious descriptions, not of the household as it was, but as its masters wanted it to be. Ordinances are essentially reforming documents; they give us an ideal, not a real, picture of household structure and life. In especiall they tend to create an impression of a rigidly comparted system of duties and a clear householding hierarchy which probably did not exist. The essentially fluid and adaptable nature of householding is largely lost in such documents. In addition, the temptation of using the particularly full royal ordinances to describe and analyse noble households, on the assumption that the latter grew out of or were heavily influenced by, the former, is a dangerous trap into which such

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authors as Paul V. B. Jones²¹ and even Carol Rawcliffe²² sometimes fall.

By far the best and richest evidence on the noble household is that of accounts. To keep track of finances and to check stealing, most households seem to have kept a set of books recording all transactions and including tallies, bills, indentures, etc. relevant to these. While the evidence in such documents is sometimes ambiguous and "bitty," and is heavily weighted towards the economic side of household interests, it is contemporary material directly concerning and, indeed, coming out of the household itself. Household accounts, or, as they are sometimes called, rolls, were of numerous sorts: daily, weekly, yearly, departmental, personal and household-wide; in some households they were fuller than in others, with detailed descriptions of each purchase; in others, only lists of prices or lump sums survive. The adaptability of the noble household to its master's circumstances, and its domestic, familiar nature, also means that an individual household changed in some ways from year to year, generation to generation; for instance, the household of an elderly noble was bound to differ from that of his aspiring young self, and from that of his heir, mature man or child. Similarly, between one noble family and another considerable differences in household structure and rôle can occur. In order to study the English mediaeval noble household, one must needs examine the accounts of a number of families, for whom a "run" of accounts of various kinds, covering at least two generations, can be found, in order to distil from their specific idiosyncracies the general characteristics of the noble household.

*

This thesis is primarily concerned with the form and matter of the noble household in the later middle ages, from approximately

1350 to 1550 (material ranging from c.1290 to 1562 is employed in actuality, but about eighty percent of the information used is concentrated between 1420 and 1515), the size and scope of the topic demanding some kind of time-break. While the dearth of studies on the noble household might immediately suggest a concentration on the earlier period, in fact good reasons exist for examining the later middle ages and early modern period. Most importantly, perhaps, many more documents survive from c.1400 than from c.1100: they are generally more plentiful and more complete in themselves; there are more series of accounts; and more varied kinds of accounts, for a larger number of identifiable families. Good documents vastly improve the ease and accuracy of any secondary historical work; and when one is attempting to establish a system for studying a phenomenon, the best and fullest material best permits the creation of a useful paradigm.

In terms of the development of the household itself, the later fourteenth century is a natural dividing line. Not only did household accounts become more frequent after this time, but their nature began to change and develop into something much more complex and dynamic.²³ From the household historian's point-of-view, the later-mediaeval household presents a more interesting study. Moreover, a study of the later mediaeval household ties up nicely with several excellent works by early modernists involving Elizabethan and Jacobean householding, in particular those by M. R. James.²⁴ As well, recent work on the history of the family in the late-mediaeval and early-modern periods²⁵ both enriches and is enriched by any study of the family environment. Moreover, the plethora of studies concerned with other aspects of the later mediaeval nobility, by such as Rosenthal,

Holmes, Denholm-Young, Pugh and McFarlane makes a study of noble households in this same period particularly useful and appropriate. The income crises of the fifteenth century English nobility, their changes in estate administration, their ways of seeking power at this time, are subjects that can all be added to by a study of their households. Nevertheless, no study of the later-mediaeval noble household in England should be attempted without at least a survey of the earlier household, to c.1350, in order to place the fifteenth-century establishments within the context of their origins, and to prevent the creation of false developments around later householding practice which in actuality are trends common to early households.

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Our knowledge of the earliest baronial households in England, i.e. before c.1300 is extremely limited by the paucity of sources. We know that nobles had entourages from the inception of their own existence, but so accepted and wide-spread was the idea of the noble household that few contemporaries troubled to examine and explain its makeup. In addition, no distinction can be made, so far, between the noble and royal household forms. Historians dealing with the household have often assumed that those of the aristocracy were developed from the imitation of the King's own domestic establishment. Whether this was indeed the case, however, is by no means sure. Certainly we have more evidence of royal household-structure before the eleventh century; but what we do have that tells us of noble establishments, does not contradict the information on royal households, until the eighth and ninth centuries,²⁶ when the earliest concrete evidence of noble households appear. After all, Kings merely began as the more powerful and less scrupulous members of an

aristocracy, as far as we can tell; they grew out of it, not vice-versa. The households of royalty and nobles were bound to have common origins, and a common structure and method as long as their masters' needs and interests were similar. With the development of strong regional monarchies around the seventh century, however, royal needs concerning the household must have changed, deviating from the essential requirements of the noble classes.²⁷

Perhaps the first available description of a Northern European noble or royal household occurs in Tacitus' Germania.²⁸ Tribal chiefs or kings and their most powerful peers are pictured within their "comitatus," a band of warriors and some domestics bound to serve and protect their master in war and peace, tied to him by love, obligation, reverence, and reward. The terminology used by Tacitus suggests mutual friendship and respect, a charismatic leadership,²⁹ in preference to servitude; the comitatus derived its strength from the bonds of companionship.

Within the early Germanic kingdoms, in particular those of the Saxons and Franks, where the old nomadic, primarily hunter-gatherer lifestyle described by Tacitus was replaced by a settled and more stable existence, domestic service seems to have gradually taken over the primary rôle in households; this is typified in the changing terminology of the ninth-century Anglo-Saxon royal and noble households, where gesith or war-companion is eventually replaced as a name for "householder" by thegn, meaning "child" or "servant."³⁰ In the ninth and tenth centuries in England, additional titles, describing household-servant duties in the King's own establishment, first begin to appear: beor-scealc (butler), hragel-weard (wardrober), bur-thegn (chamberlain), and bur-cnihtas (chamber-menial). The Danes left to England a further legacy of household-servant titles, used by the royal household: disc-

thegn (steward), staller (a kind of household constable), marscall (stablehand), and huse-carle (body-guard).³¹ From a band of what was primarily warriors, the royal household at least had become a group of domestic servants bound to serve their Lord at table and in chamber, and to maintain and guard his person and goods. These early establishments seem to have been relatively small; the ninth-century wills of Kings Eadred and Alfred indicate a household of around twenty persons.³² By the eleventh century, we can begin to see more clearly the real differences between noble and royal households which must have emerged earlier, and which continued to grow under the rule of the Normans. By the time Constitutio Domus Regis was composed, around 1231,³³ the royal household — in its record-keeping facilities, staff-size, organizational complexity and varied duties — had long since developed into something qualitatively as well as quantitatively different from its origins, and from contemporary noble households.

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Evidence, on only five other baronial households in existence before c.1300, has been uncovered by the author; none of it really satisfactory. Whether due to a real lack of account systems for households at this date, the accidents of document survival, or contemporary destruction, we cannot really be sure;³⁴ though the last explanation is probably the most sound. Accounting records of any kind are generally only in active use for a short period of time. Once that time — say a year — passes, and the account is checked, finalized and closed, it becomes purely a matter of record, with small practical use. A large establishment like the King's household, with detailed records, might create an archival system; but few nobles had the need or inclination to do so. Thus the few surviving bits of

household accounts from this earlier period have largely been preserved by accident: by being used to strengthen a book-binding,³⁵ or because a charter was written on the clean dorse of one membrane.³⁶

Of the remaining five surviving records, two are anonymous, dating from the early to mid-twelfth century; the others, thirteenth-century accounts, represent the households of the Earl and Countess de Warrene, the fifth de Vere Earl of Oxford, and Eleanor, Countess of Leicester.³⁷ All are but partially-preserved parchment rolls, listing, by day, the household's expenses, usually under various headings (in the de Warrene account, as many as eight; in three others, three — panis/carnibus/cervisia and panis et cervisia/coquina/marshalcia — and in one, none). The left-hand margin is typically devoted to dates and visitors' names, the left to cash totals. No mention of any other subsidiary or private accounts are made; evidence of careful auditing may indicate that no yearly summaries were made, and that daily rolls may have been the sole method of account. Certainly nothing but daily rolls have survived.

These early accounts also tell us something about household membership and the rôles of individuals. Household size varied from about thirty-five under the de Warrenes to about forty-five serving the fifth Earl of Oxford. Most of these are "general servants," who have no titles and can be found performing a wide variety of services for the master.³⁸ Those specialized services which are mentioned are those of cooks, laundresses, stablehands — work which by its nature requires special skills and attention — and, under the Countess of Leicester, chamberers. Some of the accounts were kept by a "clerk of the household," but the term seneschallus or steward does not occur in any of these early documents.

These households are all typified by one phenomenon: movement. Travel occurred as often as every two weeks in the de Vere household,³⁹ and on average about once a month, at all times of the year, around a Lord's territories or in the wake of the King, stopping at abbeys, manor-houses, and inns.⁴⁰ These mobile households probably had to be relatively small, unspecialized, and its finances simply accounted, in order to cope with the confusion, transport problems and inconvenience of almost-constant travel, each member ready, as Peter of Blois sourly noted of Henry II's household, to do anything or go anywhere at a moment's notice.⁴¹ Rigid administrative structures, unnecessary servants and hangers-on, or elaborate book-keeping systems would have been quickly shattered. This ability of the household to adapt was exercised in the changes in household procedure in the fourteenth century.

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Various sorts of records are known for some seventeen baronial households existing in the fourteenth century,⁴² most of which are of better quality than the five earlier accounts just mentioned; in a number of cases entire rather than fragmentary rolls have survived, some of which are remarkably detailed. Most of these show signs of "new" characteristics in four areas: household accounting method, organization, stability, and size. One must be wary of calling the appearance of new phenomena "changes" or "developments;" one would be arguing from silence. Our knowledge of the earlier noble households is too limited for us to say, in most cases, whether the characteristics did or did not exist previously. Nevertheless, it is during the fourteenth century that these characteristics first come to light, some of which, we may tentatively posit, were newly instituted.

It is in accounting systems that the most numerous new characteristics emerge. While most surviving accounts are still general records of daily expense, one finds the first year-roll and counter-roll (of Dame Godsalue, tempus Edward III),⁴³ and the earliest surviving specialized rolls -- guarderobe accounts, of Peter, Baron de Mauley (tempus Edward III)⁴⁴ and Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hereford and Gloucester (1307-1308).⁴⁵ Mention of the individual accounts of servants also comes to light in numerous records. The use of a fiscal year-end, a larger number of specifically clerical servants, and a greater use of vernacular language -- some accounts are wholly in French such as the anonymous account of a noble courtier of Edward III's time⁴⁶ -- also become recognizable trends in fourteenth-century accounts, though they may not necessarily be recent innovations. The most obvious innovation, however, is an almost universal introduction of a weekly reckoning; days are grouped in weekly paragraphs, or at the least a weekly sum-total is introduced after each Saturday entry: something which occurs in no surviving account before 1299.⁴⁷ Despite these "new" appearances, however, the headings used to divide and organize purchases do not change, nor does the tendency to paragraphical rather than linear entries -- in other words, despite internal divisions, daily and weekly entries were run together, rather than each division begun on a new line.

New characteristics in household organization and perhaps in size, also appear in the fourteenth century. The titles of seneschallus or steward, and of marescallus or marshall, appear now invariably; and one first finds the implementation of servant "classes": i.e., garcio or groom, valettus or valet, and generosus or gentleman. As more Christian and surnames come to light the

commonness of kinsmen working within the same household as servants becomes apparent.⁴⁸ However, few traces of titles tied to specific duties are found, as in earlier centuries. Size remains (and will continue to remain) somewhat of a mystery; but we find that in 1352 Sir Hamon LeStrange of Hunstanton (Norfolk) could support a household of thirty-three persons;⁴⁹ and that an obscure Norfolk Squire, Dominus Roger de Holm of Holm, had approximately eighteen servants.⁵⁰ As the household of an Earl in the thirteenth century averaged some thirty-five persons as far as we can tell,⁵¹ one might posit that households were tending to increase in size.

Perhaps the most striking development observed in fourteenth-century household accounts, however, is the steady growth of stability. Between the household of Gilbert de Clare in 1309, which moved on average once every two weeks,⁵² and that of Hamon LeStrange from 1341 to 1352, which over these eleven years was never in janticulum,⁵³ the intervening evidence shows that constant movement was becoming a short-term exception rather than a long-term rule. This trend is typified by several developments. Special "riding households" of only a limited number of servants were designated, and separate "riding accounts" were maintained for expenses on the road, as the condition of movement became a special provision.⁵⁵ The main account's endorsement came to contain not only the master's and the compiler's name, but a single place of compilation.⁵⁶ As well, in the Le Strange household, domus comes to be used as a synonym of hospicium,⁵⁷ indicating that the household could be thought of as a place, as well as a group of people.

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While we can never be sure how much these "developments" are

actually first-appearances, in the records, of well-established methods of procedure, it does seem that households during the first three-quarters of the fourteenth century began to increase in size and in complexity of organization; changes made possible by the growing stability of the noble establishment, and the same organizational urge which produced thirteenth and fourteenth-century estate-management systems,⁵⁸ and probably demanded by increasing standards of noble living and competitive consumption. This continuing ability of the household to adapt to its master's requirements carried the noble household into the period in which we know the most about these establishments: the late fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Chapter II

The families and the documents

Probably the majority of historical, and also anthropological, examinations of domestic communities tend to be case-studies of an individual family, village or tribe. The extreme variety of the domestic situation in numerous important areas makes such single studies particularly valuable, as they analyse in detail the many facets of a community, rather than attempting to discuss generally a group of units, each of which are strongly diversified. However, the drawing of wider conclusions from individual case studies is a difficult if not quite impossible task, opening up to the scholar the temptation of arguing the general from a single idiosyncratic specific. Without an attempt to suggest general implications, however, such works -- unless intended as part of a whole body of similar studies -- can turn into academic dead-ends. Ideally, it would seem, such communities as primitive tribal groups, French mountain-villages, gentry families, and English noble households would be best presented in individual case-studies of all available examples, which are then analysed as a group. However, such a scheme is virtually impossible, for a number of reasons. Sheer size, in the first place, makes such an examination a massive and time-consuming task; there are many French mountain-villages, and numerous English noble households. The paucity and uneven standard of documentation also creates problems in studying many households. Such a work would also become tedious, involving considerable repetition, and requiring reader and author to hold at hand an overwhelmingly confusing variety of facts biographical, palaeographical, chronological and procedural.

Perhaps the best mean between the two extremes of individual

case-study and all-encompassing survey is that of the limited examination, involving a small but diverse and, one would hope, representative number of units. Such a pattern has been used by others examining domestic communities: Marshall Sahlin's six African, Australian and Phillipino tribes in Stone Age Economics,¹ for instance, and the villages used by Rodney Howard Hilton in A Mediaeval Society: The West Midlands at the end of the Thirteenth Century.² The wide variety and number of household structures and methods among the English Mediaeval Nobility, the need for their detailed study, and the survival of good records for only a selection of such establishments, urge the methodology of a limited survey, including households in existence between 1350 and 1550, for each of which survives a useful and varied set of household accounts and other relevant documents covering at least two generations of each family. Five of these households are those of the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham, 1438 to 1556; the de Veres, Earls of Oxford, 1431 to 1562; the Luttrells of Dunster Castle, Somerset, 1401 to 1432; the Cromwells of Tydd and Tattershall, 1417 to 1475; and the Stonors of Stonor, 1378 to 1498.

These particular five were chosen for a number of reasons, besides the excellence and wide range of their documents. They are, as far as possible, a fairly diverse sample of the mediaeval nobility, representing a spectrum of social, political and economic standing, including Ducal, and Comital families, a lord of Parliament and two knightly families. The de Veres were the oldest surviving noble line in England; Hugh Luttrell and his family were comparative newcomers in the ranks of national influence. The Staffords were descendants of Edward III; one can easily trace the Stonors back to yeoman roots. William and Margaret Cromwell had an income of about £150 a year, 1417-

1436; their nephew Ralph Lord Cromwell, £2,263 per annum.³ Some attempt has also been made to include a wide range of geographical centres. Unfortunately, no household based north of the Humber has left enough records which expose in detail the household that spawned them; but as much geographical diversity as possible has been attempted, encompassing households based in the West Country, London, the home counties, Essex, the Welsh Marches, and the East Midlands. The households chosen show their masters at different ages and stages in their careers, from minors to grandfathers, from the major powers in the land to those attainted and out of royal favour. While one may not be able to claim that all or any of these households are in any way typical of their type of community -- in any case there does not seem to have been such a thing as a typical household -- their very diversity helps to counteract the acceptance of idiosyncracies as general tendencies, and demonstrates the extreme richness of household life and the adaptability of its structure to the demands made upon it.

This adaptability and consequent variety is a result of the many, varied and constantly-changing requirements of a household's master; the domestic and familial nature of households meant that the Lord's fortunes were its own. This fluidity also affected the kinds of documents produced and the way they were preserved. Hence, in order to avoid false conclusions, one must have a firm grasp of the background and careers of the nobles whose households was used as the basis for this thesis, and also a sound understanding of the particular documents which in each case have survived.

THE STAFFORDS, EARLS OF STAFFORD AND DUKES OF BUCKINGHAM

The Staffords are so well-known and so much a part of English history, and have been so recently studied in Carol Rawcliffe's masterly thesis and book on the family and its estates,⁴ that a detailed account of their exploits is inappropriate here. The later Staffords, especially the first, second and third Dukes of Buckingham, have long been familiar historical characters, their riches, royal blood, power, influence and distinctive personalities attracting the attentions of several scholars. Yet their belongings were inauspicious enough. Ralph de Tonei, a Norman knight whom we know to have accompanied the Duke of Normandy to England in 1066, was rewarded with over one hundred manors; though these were widely scattered, and the family was unable to control the area in which they had the strongest foothold due to the resistance of the town of Stafford -- centre of that Lordship -- until the late thirteenth century.⁵ Rawcliffe says of the early Staffords that "they were loyal by necessity rather than choice",⁶ and indeed it was partly through military service and the royal administration that the Stafford family achieved a place in national affairs, as well as inherited resources and a significant place in local society.

The first really notable Stafford is Ralph, the first Earl of Stafford, whose military reputation in the Scottish and French wars is impressive, and whose marriage to Margaret Audeley in 1343 (only child of Hugh Audeley and Margaret de Clare, one of the three sisters and heirs of the Earl of Gloucester and Hereford) brought new wealth and connections to the Staffords. Ralph was made an Earl in 1351 with an annuity of 1,000 marks per annum. At his death in 1372 Ralph was worth about £3,000 per annum, surely one of the wealthier

peerages in England; he left two sons and four daughters, all of whom made socially and economically profitable marriages. The children of the second Earl also made useful alliances which brought the family further wealth and honours — the three daughters were married to Michael de la Pole, father of the 1st Earl of Suffolk, Thomas Holland Earl of Kent, and Ralph Neville Earl of Westmorland. Thomas, 3rd Earl of Stafford, was briefly married, in 1390, to Anne, daughter and eventually sole heir of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester; when Thomas died childless in 1392 a papal dispensation allowed Anne to marry Thomas' brother Edmund, the 5th Earl, making the later Staffords direct descendants of Edward III, and also of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford (which entitled them to half of the de Bohun estates after 1399).⁷

The fifth Earl died in 1403, leaving his wife with two thirds of the Stafford estates (from her dower of him and his elder brother), as well as her own lands and custody of their three children, of whom the heir, Humphrey, was less than a year old. Queen Joan had custody of the Stafford lands not in dower. A careful husbander, the dowager Countess improved the family holdings, their administration, and at her death Humphrey enjoyed an annual income of about £5,000, which enabled him to support his new dignity as the first Duke of Buckingham, granted him on 14 September, 1414.⁸

The young Humphrey Stafford seems to have been a favourite with Henry IV and Henry V, with whom he went to France at the age of eighteen, in 1420;⁹ he was knighted in 1421,¹⁰ was granted livery of his inheritance in 1423 though still a minor;¹¹ and was made a counsellor in 1424,¹² in which year he married Anne Neville, a daughter of Ralph Earl of Westmoreland and Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt. Around the same time he came to be styled Earl of

Buckingham (which he could claim by his descent from Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester) as well as Earl of Stafford.¹³

Humphrey accompanied Henry VI to France in 1430, where for his services he was made governor of Paris, Constable of France, and in 1431 Count of Perche.¹⁴ In 1436 he took part in the short-lived Flanders campaign.¹⁵ In 1429 he was made a Knight of the Garter.¹⁶ He also served the crown in England: from 1430, when he begins to appear on other than Commissions of the Peace, until his death, Humphrey Stafford sat on seven commissions to raise a loan, seventeen of array, forty-three of oyez and terminer, two to deliver gaols, and twelve to suppress unlawful gatherings, in the counties of Staffordshire, Essex, Warwickshire, Huntingdonshire, Buckinghamshire, Kent, Salop, Rutlandshire, Northamptonshire, Herefordshire, Yorkshire, Bedfordshire, Gloucestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, London, Sussex, Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall and Worcestershire.¹⁷ His main concentration of power, however, was on the Welsh Marches, especially around Stafford, and to some extent in Essex, where he spent much time at Writtle.¹⁸

Humphrey also continued active abroad. He was one of the ambassadors sent to negotiate with the French at Calais in 1439,¹⁹ and at the collapse of these negotiations was appointed Captain of Calais and Lieutenant of the Marches of Calais from 1442 to 1451;²⁰ he was again ambassador to France in 1446;²¹ and in 1450 he became Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover and Queenborough Castles.²² However, he spent most of his time in England, absorbed in political affairs there. As Constable of England, Humphrey was responsible for the Earl of Gloucester's arrest in 1447, being granted by the crown the manor of Penshurst from Gloucester's

attainted lands.²³ Through his children's marriages he created a web of useful connections. Two sons married Beauforts, and his three daughters married well, to Aubrey, heir of the twelfth Earl of Oxford,²⁴ William Viscount Beaumont, and to John Talbot, Earl of Shrewbury.²⁵ Humphrey also attempted to marry a daughter to the French dauphin.²⁶ His retinue was used on several occasions as a royal bodyguard during and after the disturbances of 1450,²⁷ and he was the noble who attempted to get Henry VI to recognize his new-born son.²⁸ Humphrey stood by the King at the first battle of St. Albans in 1455,²⁹ stood bail for the Duke of Exeter in 1454,³⁰ and submitted recognizances for the Duke of Somerset in 1455;³¹ he attended Queen Margaret at her love-day with the Duke of York in 1458.³² Nevertheless, Stafford remained in London during the Duke of York's term as protector, "closely involved in the business of government",³³ and throughout the 1450's attended nearly every council meeting.³⁴ This probably helps to explain the somewhat-strained relations between Buckingham and Queen Margaret.³⁵

In 1459, however, Duke Humphrey committed himself completely to the Queen's party on the outbreak of hostilities. After the defeat of the Yorkists at Ludford he was rewarded, at the Coventry Parliament, with estates confiscated from Sir William Oldhall worth about £370 and a further promise to cover his military expenses.³⁶ He never received these, however; he was killed at the battle of Northampton, and was buried at Greyfriars, Northampton.³⁷ His eldest son, Humphrey, had died of plague in 1458,³⁸ leaving an heir not yet five years old; and Henry Stafford, second Duke of Buckingham, became a ward of the crown, purchased from the 1st Duke's executors in 1464.³⁹ Two thirds of the Stafford lands were in dower, however, to Henry's mother and grandmother. Henry and his younger brother were raised in the Queen's

household from 1465, around which time Henry was betrothed to Katherine Woodville.⁴⁰

The second Duke's grandmother Anne, though nearly sixty, remarried: to Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy. She was also guardian of two of her grandchildren, The Earl of Wiltshire and Anne Lady Cobham, as well as numerous other wards, such as Humphrey Grey, esq., and Humphrey Beaufo.⁴¹ She settled in Essex and Huntingdon, but was also frequently in London or with the court. She received numerous grants from Edward IV, in which she is commonly called the King's aunt.⁴² She died on 1 October 1430, at the approximate age of seventy-five.⁴³ Her younger sons — John, made Earl of Wiltshire for his zealous devotion to the Yorkist cause, and Henry — both predeceased her. The Earl of Wiltshire died in 1473. The youngest son, for whom numerous personal documents survive, was probably born in the late 1430's or early 1440's. He married, before 20 July 1459,⁴⁴ Margaret Beaufort, dowager Countess of Richmond and mother of the future Henry VII. On December 18 of that year Henry Stafford was made Constable of Nottingham Castle, Master forrester of Sherwood and Keeper of Beachwood park (Nottinghamshire);⁴⁵ on 17 June 1460 he was given the keepership of the park of Clipston (Devon);⁴⁶ he was a commissioner of array in Staffordshire and Warwickshire in September/October 1459,⁴⁷ and a commissioner to suppress unlawful assemblies in the same counties in April 1460;⁴⁸ which probably indicates that he joined the Queen's party with his father. Henry survived the Battle of Northampton, but we hear little about him until 1465, when he was a Justice of the Peace for Lincolnshire;⁴⁹ he was again J.P. for this county in 1468, 1469 and 1470, and for Surrey in 1470;⁵⁰ he was also a commissioner de walliis et fossatis in

1467 for Norfolk and Huntingdonshire,⁵¹ and of oyez and terminer for Surrey in 1470.⁵² In 1471 he and Margaret Beaufort received the custody of the Duchess of Bedford's lands for seven years.⁵³ The manner of Henry's death is unrecorded; his nephew the second Duke of Buckingham was licensed to enter the inheritance of Henry's lands on 7 October, 1471, which included property in eighteen counties and the Welsh Marches.⁵⁴

The second Duke's long minority continued through the troubled years of the 1460's. He entered his inheritance three years early, in September of 1472; but the young Duke was allowed little real power. Before 1483 he sat on only one commission of array, that of Stafford in 1472,⁵⁵ and on six commissions of the peace in six different counties, none after 1475.⁵⁶ At court he had no access to the inner circles of power, and his official appointments, such as High Steward of England for the Duke of Clarence's trial, were largely formal.⁵⁷ It is hardly surprising, therefore, that he became an enthusiastic supporter of the Duke of Gloucester. After the overthrow of the Woodvilles and the consolidation of Richard III's position, in which Henry played a prominent part, he was made Warden of the Cinque Ports, Hereditary Lord High Constable of England, Chief Justice and Chamberlain of Wales, and Constable and Steward of all royal castles in Wales and five counties on the Welsh Marches. Richard III also granted him Henry V's share of the de Bohun inheritance, which the Staffords had been trying to obtain since the death of Prince Edward son of Henry VI in 1471, when it should, according to the laws of inheritance, have returned to them; and numerous other rewards.⁵⁸

Just why, therefore, the second Duke of Buckingham tried and

failed to overthrow Richard III from September 1483, just two months after Richard's coronation, is difficult to ascertain. Thomas More and Polydore Vergil have suggested he was stricken with remorse on hearing of the Princes' deaths and was persuaded by Bishop Morton to join in a rebellion, and that the Duke also believed in the superior claim of the Earl of Richmond. It is more likely that Henry was wary of Richard III's continuing favour, and that he himself hoped to use Richard as a tool to manoeuvre himself onto the throne. In any case, Buckingham's part in the rebellion of 1483 failed ignominiously. Richard III got wind of the plan and was prepared to meet the Duke's forces; bad weather made the Wye and Severn impassable, delaying Buckingham's progress; and the Duke found that the Welsh tenants and neighbours on whom he had relied, refused to join him or deserted him. He took shelter in Gloucestershire with Ralph Bannaster, a retainer, who apparently betrayed him, later claiming the reward for his capture. Buckingham was executed without trial at Salisbury, on 2 November 1483. His eldest son was five years old. Despite a £1,000 reward for the child's capture, he eluded Richard III's grasp, and his whereabouts over the next two years are unknown. Possibly he was taken to France. After the coronation of Henry VII in 1485 the attainder was reversed, and young Edward became the third Duke of Buckingham. His mother Katherine Woodville received her jointure, and the custody of Edward and his brother was granted to Margaret Beaufort, the King's mother and Edward's great-aunt by marriage.⁵⁹ Edward's marriage was purchased by the fourth Earl of Northumberland's executors in 1490 for £4,000, and he was married to Eleanor Percy, the Earl's daughter.⁶⁰

The Duke was one of those nobles whom Henry VII determined to

muzzle by heavy recognizances, and under various pretexts such as the Dowager Duchess of Buckingham's marriage to the Duke of Bedford without licence, the early entry of the third Duke into his inheritance, and the arrears of Welsh lands held by the crown during Edward's minority, charged the Duke with debts amounting to £7,179.⁶¹ Nor was Buckingham allowed much part in their affairs by Henry VII or VIII; as Rawcliffe posits, "whereas both were prepared to make political capital out of (Duke Edward's) love of ceremony and personal display, neither would admit him to their inner counsels."⁶² Between his minority and his attainder he sat on only five commissions of oyez et terminer, and ten commissions of the peace -- none of these in any county more than once.⁶³ He did not become a royal counsellor until 1504;⁶⁴ he was a trier of petitions at the first parliament of Henry VIII, but never thereafter.⁶⁵ Buckingham was a captain in the royal army against the Cornish rebels in September 1497,⁶⁶ and was a captain of the King's army in France in 1513, commanding the right wing at Therouanne, but is said to have failed to protect the English supply lines from attack.⁶⁷

As Rawcliffe has posited, however, the Tudors made "political capital" out of his love of ceremony. Buckingham was Lord High Constable and Steward at Henry VIII's coronation, and attended the weddings of Prince Arthur and the King's sister Mary.⁶⁸ He was a prominent and impressive figure at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, which the King commanded him to attend, and at the meeting with Charles V at Dover;⁶⁹ and he nearly exhausted his funds entertaining the King at Penshurst in 1519.⁷⁰ For the Tudors Buckingham was a court-oriented figure who could be persuaded to let escape any yearnings for involvement in national politics in magnificent displays

of wealth, which would both impress foreigners and sap his own finances.

Nevertheless, Buckingham could still pose a threat to the Tudors. The treasurer of Calais reported in a formal deposition a conversation of 1499 (when the King was ill) between "many dyvers and grett personages" about the succession; Buckingham was proposed as a "ryall ruler, as so gave hym grett prees ... but non of them ... spake of my Lorde Prynce."⁷¹ In 1519 the Venetian ambassador thought Buckingham might be heir to the throne, should Henry VIII die without a son.⁷² Buckingham's feud with Cardinal Wolsey, his near-royal displays of wealth, and his ill-advised complaints about his lack of position in the King's Councils,⁷³ practically doomed him; blood, ambition and the memory of rebellion combined to destroy his house. Though the charges brought against him in 1521 were based on bribery and the petty vengeance of disgruntled servants, Buckingham was tried and condemned for high treason, executed on Tower Hill, 17 May 1521; attained 31 July 1523; and degraded from the order of the Garter 16 October 1525.⁷⁴

Edward's only son, Henry, married to Ursula de la Pole, was left with several manors in Staffordshire, Cheshire and Shropshire, and his father's chief home of Thornbury, Gloucestershire. In 1531 he was restored in blood and, though his titles were not returned him, was allowed to repossess the castle and manor of Stafford.⁷⁵ In 1532 he was offered a Knighthood, which he refused, paying 20 li to do so.⁷⁶ Edward VI created him Baron Stafford and Premier Baron of England.⁷⁷ Under Edward he served on commissions of oyez et terminer and of the peace in 1547,⁷⁸ and profited from the dissolution of the monasteries, receiving in 1550 the lands of Stafford Collegiate

Church,⁷⁹ and is said to have entertained the commissioners of the dissolution in his home, and to have welcomed the reforming movement. Nevertheless he immediately attached himself to Mary Tudor, who made him Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1554,⁸⁰ and who granted him numerous manors and keeperships for his services.⁸¹ Elizabeth also favoured him initially, making him ranger of the forest of Cannock, Wales, on 24 September 1560⁸² and Constable of the Castle and Honour of Dungarvon, county Waterford, Ireland on 17 July 1559.⁸³ Yet in Elizabeth's first parliament and thereafter he dissented from both the act of uniformity and the act depriving Catholic bishops.⁸⁴ After 1560 he retreated from public life, dying at Caus Castle, Wales, on 30 April 1563.⁸⁵ His sole surviving grandson, Roger, became 6th Baron Stafford in 1637, but due to his poverty sold the title to Charles I — though this was declared to be an illegal practise in 1641. Roger died without issue in 1640.⁸⁶

The material available for the study of the Staffords as a family, as individuals, and as estate managers and householders is almost unparalleled in the history of the magnate classes, and is certainly unsurpassed before 1550. The history of the preservation of these documents is an interesting one. The 3rd Duke, Edward, a practical and efficient administrator, was hampered by lack of evidence concerning former practises of administration, especially pertaining to litigation and the forcing of fines and rents. Under him earlier documents were gathered, and his own accounts scrupulously kept, in iron chests in a locked room specifically made for muniments, at Thornbury. Three of these chests were removed for evidence during his trial;⁸⁷ most of the documents so carefully stored therein were lost, but some have found their way into the Public Record Office.

Henry Lord Stafford continued his father's system, making numerous lists of the documents he possessed, as did his own son Edward. Much has been lost since the termination of the Barony, but later owners of Thornbury, and William, second Lord Bagot (d. 1856) who acquired an important collection of Stafford Records from the goods of Stebbing Shaw, a Staffordshire antiquary, in 1820, have deposited their archives in the Staffordshire Record Office. The British Library and the National Library of Wales have also acquired, by gift and purchase, a number of Stafford documents. Marriage and wardship have also carried records far afield -- to Lady Margaret Beaufort's muniments, now in Westminster Abbey; to Arundel Castle, through the third Duke's daughter; and to Longleat House, probably through the Earl of Bath's acquisition of Caus Lordship in 1576.⁸⁸ Some of these documents have been published, but more are still available in the originals.

These scattered records consist of several classes of documents. There are almost continuous series of court rolls and estate accounts for some lordships and manors, and several receiver-general accounts. There are also numerous household accounts, compiled yearly, daily, weekly and monthly, as well as chequerrolls, personal letters, shopping lists, indentures and bills related to household matters. The most notable lack is for the second Duke, for whom no household accounts survive; but his brief time as an adult peer makes this less problematical than it might be, and one is able, from other sources, to make some guesses about the state of his household.

THE DE VERES, EARLS OF OXFORD

The de Veres, Earls of Oxford, like the Staffords, are so well-known historically that a detailed account of their lives is rendered unnecessary here; though a modern biography of the family and their estates would be highly desirable;⁸⁹ to date the only secondary work available on the de Veres is a short monograph by the Rev. Severne A. Ashurst Majendie, written in 1904.⁹⁰ Though the male line, title and family fortunes died in 1703, the de Veres still remain one of the longest-lived and most consistently successful comital families in English history. In the sixteenth century the de Veres attempted to reconstruct ancient pedigrees, reaching back to Milo, brother-in-law of Charlemagne (and in one case to Serug, great-grandfather of the biblical Abraham), but in fact we know very little of the first recognizable de Vere's own background. In all probability, the Aubrey de Vere who accompanied the Conqueror in 1066 came from the parish and perhaps the manor of Ver, on the river of that name, south of Coutances in the Cotentin (now La Manche), Normandy. There was a castle at Ver; Aubrey may have been its Lord, or a younger brother of the Lord, or someone much more humbly-born. In any case he acquitted himself well, receiving, by the time of Domesday Book, lands in Middlesex, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Essex and Suffolk, much of which had been the land of the thegn Uluinas, an important adherent of Harold Godwineson, killed at Hastings.⁹¹ Even then the greatest concentration of de Vere lands was in Essex, around Castle Hedingham, and here the first Aubrey probably settled. The Norman Keep at Hedingham dates from at least 1125,⁹² and is quite probably rather earlier in date.

Aubrey I died in 1088, having earlier retired to the "family

monastery" at Colne, which the de Veres founded and in which nearly all of them were buried. His son, Aubrey II, married the daughter of the Earl of Hertford, and in 1106 was created Great Chamberlain of England, which office was granted both to him and his heirs. The third Aubrey succeeded his father in this capacity in 1141; he also styled himself Count of Guisnes through his marriage to the heiress Beatrice, though he was divorced from her in 1141. An adherent of the Empress Matilda, in 1142 he obtained from her a charter granting him the reversion of the Earldom of Cambridge if the King of Scots did not take this title, or the choice of four Earldoms: Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire or Dorsetshire. Henry II confirmed this grant, and in 1236 Aubrey III was created the first Earl of Oxford, despite the fact that the family did not then, nor ever since, hold lands in Oxfordshire.⁹³

The first de Vere of whose household we have knowledge is Robert, fifth Earl of Oxford, for whom the fragment of a daily record of expenses of c. 1290, survives.⁹⁴ This son and heir of the fourth Earl was born in c. 1240, and succeeded his father in 1264. He was an adherent of Simon de Montfort, who knighted him at the battle of Lewes, 14 May 1267. Robert was captured at Kenilworth on 1 August 1265, and lost most of his lands to Roger de Mortimer; but he recovered the right to, if not the possession of, them under the Dictum de Kenilworth, finally regaining his lands in 1268 by marrying his eldest son to Mortimer's daughter Margaret. Earl Robert was not allowed, however, to recover the hereditary Great Chamberlainship, though he was present at the Coronation of Edward I in 1274 (the sixth Earl later attempted to recover both this Chamberlaincy and the hereditary Chamberlaincy at the Queen's Coronation through his mother Alice de Sanford, without much success.)⁹⁵ The fifth Earl spent

much of his later life serving the crown against the Welsh, notably in 1277, 1282 and 1283; and he also attended the debate on the Scots succession at Berwick in 1292. Earl Robert was also a benefactor to numerous religious foundations, in especial the Knights Hospitallers, Colne Priory, Thremsdale Priory and Hatfield Priory (all Benedictine Foundations in Essex). He died before 7 September, 1296, and his body was buried at Colne Priory; but his heart was given into the keeping of the Greyfriars at Ipswich.⁹⁶

Over the next century the de Veres prospered; retaining royal favour, fighting in France and Scotland, and amassing an "almost fabulous estate"⁹⁷ including lands in Herefordshire, Bedfordshire, Leicestershire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Dorset, Wiltshire, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and especially Essex, where fifty knights fees were held. The eighth Earl regained both the Hereditary Great Chamberlaincy of England and the Hereditary Chamberlaincy at the Queen's Coronation in 1362. The ninth Earl, at his succession to the Earldom at the age of nine in 1371, inherited the title to one of the wealthier peerages in England. He was a great favourite of Richard II, at whose court he had been raised, and who made him in 1385 Marquess of Dublin for life, in 1386 Duke of Ireland for life, and in 1387 Chief Justice of Chester and North Wales. He was, however, one of those appealed of treason at the Merciless Parliament in February 1388. The ninth Earl of Oxford was banished, and attainted. The Earl had fled to Flanders before that Parliament met, and died on the continent in 1392. Three years later Richard II had his body brought back to England and buried with proper ceremony at Colne Priory.⁹⁸ The ninth Earl's uncle, Sir Aubrey de Vere, was granted the title of Earl in 1392, when he was restored to the

entailed estates; he was however unable to regain the Hereditary Great Chamberlaincy, which was granted to the Duke of Exeter.

Aubrey's son Richard, the eleventh Earl, obtained the rest of the forfeited estates, which were still in royal hands, by the grant of Henry IV in 1408.⁹⁹ The twelfth Earl, his son, who came into his title in 1417, is the first of the Earls in our period (1350-1550) to leave household accounts, as did his son, grandson and great-great grandson. John, twelfth Earl of Oxford, was born in 1408, and on his father's death became a royal ward. He first attended Parliament in 1427, and was knighted by Henry VI in the same year at Leicester, though he did not have livery of his inheritance until 1429.¹⁰⁰ He was sworn as a counsellor to the King in 1431;¹⁰¹ he sat on numerous commissions, especially in Essex, and also served extensively in France, notably in the relief of Calais in 1436,¹⁰² on the commission to treat for peace with France in 1439, and 1441.¹⁰³ In 1454 he was appointed to keep the seas with his brother Robert for three years.¹⁰⁴ In 1455 he attempted to attend the Battle of St. Albans with a large retinue, but arrived a day too late.¹⁰⁵ A loyal supporter of Henry VI, in November 1460 he obtained an exception from attending Parliament, the King's Counsel or in the King's presence otherwise due to poor health,¹⁰⁶ either from a desire to keep clear of the Yorkists or from genuine illness (he was 53 years old). He did, however, attend Edward IV's first Parliament in 1461.¹⁰⁷ In February 1462, he and his eldest son Aubrey were arrested at Castle Hedingham and brought to the Tower of London; they were tried for treason, condemned and attainted. They were beheaded together on Tower Hill, on 26 February 1462.¹⁰⁸

The twelfth Earl was survived by three daughters and four sons, the eldest of whom, John, was nineteen. (b. 8 September 1442). John

was granted the Earldom and restored to the entailed lands in January 1464,¹⁰⁹ made a knight, and in May 1465, was allowed to serve as Chamberlain at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville;¹¹⁰ the Hereditary Great Chamberlaincy, however, had been granted to the Kingmaker, Oxford's father-in-law. Nevertheless the thirteenth Earl was scarcely trusted by the King. He was appointed to almost no commissions during the 1460's.¹¹¹ In November 1468 the Earl was imprisoned on suspicion of plotting against Edward IV, but was given a general pardon on 5 April 1469,¹¹² though Oxford was clearly one of Warwicks chief supporters. In October of 1469 a Paston letter (736) reports that the Earl rode out to meet the King, at which he was told by the Archbishop of York that he was only to come when sent for. Both King and Earl then put on at least the face of friendship, but the writer stated that "the Earl's Household says otherwise".¹¹³ Eventually even the pretence of friendship was dropped, and the Earl fled to France in the spring of 1470. Oxford returned to England, and with the Earl of Warwick, on 12 October 1470, they entered London and the Tower, freeing Henry VI, and in the Parliament of that year Oxford was restored to all his ancestral lands and honours, including the Great Chamberlaincy, not returned in 1464.¹¹⁴ In March of 1471 he undertook the defence of the Norfolk coast, repelling the attempted landing of a Yorkist force at Cromer on the twelfth of that month.¹¹⁵ At the battle of Barnet the Earl led the right cavalry wing with the Marquess Montaigne; some reports indicate that Oxford's livery was confused with that of Edward IV, and Oxford was shot at by Warwick's men, causing him to fly the field prematurely.¹¹⁶ After the Battle Oxford escaped, apparently with a number of retainers and

servants, probably to Scotland first, where he took ship for

France.¹¹⁷

From France he took up privateering with twelve small

ships, creating havoc in the Channel trade.¹¹⁸

In 1473, with about

400 men, including two of his brothers, who had supported him since

the taking of London in 1470 (another had been captive since Barnet),

he made an unsuccessful landing in Essex, but then proceeded to

St. Michael's Mount, in Mount's Bay, Cornwall, which he stormed and

captured. From this fortress, John harried the countryside and

attempted to build up a following; and accordingly the Yorkists

besieged St. Michael's Mount. The Earl held out for several months;

but desertions and his own serious wounds finally caused him to

surrender.¹¹⁹ He and his brothers were imprisoned at Hammes Castle,

and Oxford was finally attainted; but the conditions of imprisonment

could not have been unduly harsh, as the Earl attempted to escape in

1478 while he was participating in a Christmas masque, somehow

scrambling over the wall and jumping into the moat "up to his chin"

before being recaptured, which John Paston also speculated may have

been an attempt to drown himself (at which one suspects that the Earl

was unable to swim).¹²⁰

In 1485 Oxford managed to bribe or suborne

the Governor of Hammes, and was allowed to escape, he joined

Richmond at Paris.¹²¹

On the accession of Henry VII, the thirteenth Earl was once again restored to his family possessions, and as one of the King's best allies was also made Lord High Admiral, Lord High Steward, High Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster, Keeper of the King's Lions, Constable of the Tower of London and Castle Rising in Norfolk, King's Counsellor, Knight of the Garter, Hereditary Great Chamberlain, and Hereditary Chamberlain at the Queen's Coronation, and received

numerous other grants.¹²² He stood as godfather to Prince Arthur in 1486 and in 1491 to the future Henry VIII;¹²³ led the vanguard at the battle of Stoke in 1487;¹²⁴ fought at Picardy in 1492 and was one of the signatories of the Peace Treaty there;¹²⁵ in 1496 he stood guarantor of the treaty with Burgundy;¹²⁶ in 1497 he was commissioned to proceed against the Cornish rebels at Blackheath.¹²⁷ From 1485 he served on numerous county commissions, being Justice of the Peace in eight counties, until his death on 10 March, 1512. In his own day, the thirteenth Earl was known for his personal kindness¹²⁸ and religious zeal,¹²⁹ as well as being called by Margaret Beaufort a lion of her son's cause and an anchor of her house.¹³⁰ His successors pale next to him.

The thirteenth Earl died childless, his first wife Margaret (sister to Ralph Neville, Earl of Warwick) being parted from him during most of her child-bearing years (she remained in England whilst Oxford was imprisoned at Hammes). She died after 20 November 1506.¹³¹ The Earl remarried, in early 1509, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Richard Scrope and widow of William second Viscount Beaumont. The latter had been with Oxford at Barnet, St. Michael's Mount, Hammes and Bosworth; but in the 1490's he lost his reason and was put in the custody of Oxford, and the Viscount and Viscountess came to live at Hedingham Castle. The Viscount died in 1508, and shortly after his widow married the Earl of Oxford.¹³² Elizabeth, after the latter's death, was frequently at Court, attended the Field of the Cloth of Gold with Queen Catherine in 1520, and in 1521 was considered as a governess for Princess Mary.¹³³ She died on 26 June 1537, and was buried at Wyvenhoe, in Essex, next to her first husband.¹³⁴

The fourteenth Earl, John, was the son of the thirteenth Earl's brother George. Born 14 August 1499, he lived with his uncle the fifteenth Earl, from his father's death, and from 1513 was a ward of the Duke of Norfolk, whose daughter Anne he married. John was a favourite of Henry VIII, and attended the King on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, after which he received livery of his inheritance.¹³⁵ The recklessness of his extravagance, and the ill-treatment he meted out to his wife, by whom he apparently tried to avoid having issue, caused the King and Cardinal Wolsey to take the unusual step of putting him back in the custody of the Duke of Norfolk in 1523 (the Earl was then 24 years old). Wolsey drew up a document for his governance, requiring the young peer to reside with his father-in-law and to give over large sums of money as surety for his good behaviour.¹³⁶ The fourteenth Earl was once more confirmed in his majority and reappeared at Court in 1425; but he died childless on 14 July 1526, and was buried at Colne Priory.¹³⁷

The fifteenth Earl was forty-four in 1526, a descendant of a younger son of the eleventh Earl. He had been in the retinue of Henry VII, and attended his funeral as an esquire for the body. In 1513, at the age of twenty-three, he served at Tournai, and at the Battle of the Spurs, being knighted afterwards.¹³⁸ He was Sheriff of Essex in 1515 and of Hertfordshire in 1519, and Keeper of the Colchester Castle in 1524.¹³⁹ He attended Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and at the meeting with Emperor Charles V at Dover in 1522.¹⁴⁰ He continued his courtier's life after becoming Earl of Oxford, being in the royal retinue to meet Francis I at Calais in 1532.¹⁴¹ He was on the Commission to depose the Queen in 1533, signed articles against Wolsey, and was one of those who tried Anne

Boleyn in 1536; he attended the baptism of Prince Edward and the funeral of Queen Jane; he was with the King at the reception of Anne of Cleves at Dover.¹⁴² The fifteenth Earl also spent considerable time and expense trying (unsuccessfully) to gain the Hereditary Grand Chamberlaincy, which he was denied, as the eleventh Earl by whom he claimed the Earldom had not held the position.¹⁴³ He was also, it might be mentioned, a keen foxhunter.¹⁴⁴ The fifteenth Earl died at Colne in 1540.

The sixteenth Earl, son and heir of the fifteenth, was born around 1516; he was with the King during the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, and in the Boulogne Campaign of 1544, and was one of the twelve chief mourners at the funerals of Henry VIII and Edward VI. He served as joint Lord Lieutenant of Essex in 1550-1553, and sole Lord Lieutenant in 1588-1589.¹⁴⁵ Though one of the twenty-six peers who signed the letters patent proclaiming Jane Grey as the proper heiress of Edward VI, he subsequently declared for Mary, who made him a privy counsellor, and he served as Great Chamberlain at her coronation. He performed the same function at Elizabeth's coronation, and entertained her at Hedingham in 1561. He died on 3 August, 1562.¹⁴⁶ Like the fourteenth Earl he was incredibly extravagant and careless, but remained unchecked, and managed to waste his estates. Though the Earldom continued, but few lands were left it, Castle Hedingham finally passing out of the family in 1655. The twentieth Earl, Premier Earl of England and her poorest peer, spent most of his life in London, and in 1702 died childless, ending a direct male line which had lasted for nearly 700 years.¹⁴⁷

Most of the surviving de Vere documents are now kept at the Essex County Record Office. There is also a household account at

Longleat, and several pertinent documents in the British Library and the Public Record Office.¹⁴⁸ Most of the available information on the household is in the surviving receivers-general accounts; but the wills of the thirteenth Earl and his second wife, and the ordinance of Wolsey for the fourteenth Earl, are useful; and four household accounts survive. The earliest material is for the fifth Earl, but a gap then occurs until 1431, from which date we have documents relating to the households of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth Earls.

THE CROMWELLS OF TATTERSHALL AND TYDD

The name of Ralph, Lord Cromwell is probably a familiar one to most students of later mediaeval English history; but aside from his tenure as Lord High Treasurer and his assessment of royal income in 1433, his life and his family background are not generally well-known, neither ancient nor modern biography exists despite a large compendium of available material.¹⁴⁹ Yet, as MacFarlane points out, "... Ralph Cromwell was no parvenue."¹⁵⁰ The name Cromwell comes from the village of Cromwell in Nottinghamshire, from whence the first historical predecessor of the baronial family line sprang. This was one Ralph de Cromwell, who fought with Edward I in the Scottish wars, for which military services he received lands in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. After his death in 1289¹⁵¹ we know little of the Cromwells until the days of his great-great-grandson, Ralph, first Lord Cromwell, who was summoned to Parliament in 1375, and also in 1397. Besides his position in the House of Lords,

the first Lord Cromwell was a Justice of the Peace and a Commissioner of Array for Lincolnshire from 1381 until his death.¹⁵² The King retained him as a banneret against foreign invasions, 1386-1387;¹⁵³ and on 21 July 1391 he received a grant pro vita of 20 li per annum.¹⁵⁴ His wife, Maud, was a daughter of John Bernake of Tattershall, a great-nephew of Sir John de Kirketon, owner of Tattershall Castle, after whose death without issue the first Lord Cromwell acquired the entailed land from the Crown after 1392.¹⁵⁵ This Ralph died in 1398, leaving four sons: Ralph, second Lord Cromwell, who was attested to be thirty at his father's death; William; Thomas; and John. The second Lord Cromwell was called to every Parliamentary sitting from 1399 until his death in 1417. He was also appointed a J.P. for Lincolnshire in each commission from 1399 to 1417, and served as Constable of Castle Rising, Norfolk, from 1404 to 1417. Ralph's wife Joan predeceased him, leaving him with two children, Ralph and Maud; when the second Lord Cromwell's death came in 1417, the heir was fourteen. The two children were put in ward of their grandmother Maud, often called "the Lady Tattershall". At her death in 1419 she left her grandchildren in the care of their uncle, William Cromwell.¹⁵⁶

The first Lord Cromwell had inherited the estates of Robert Swillington, esquire, of Lincolnshire through his mother Avise; these lands he settled on his second son William (probably born around 1370),¹⁵⁷ who lived mainly on the manor of Tydd (a large, rich holding comprised of the three hamlets of Tydd St. Mary, Tydd Gote and Tydd St. Giles), in Lincolnshire.¹⁵⁸ From 1400 William had held a grant from the crown of 40 li per annum, on condition of his not being retained by anyone except the King; a grant confirmed by both Henry V and VI.¹⁵⁹ He was not, however particularly active in shire

politics and administration until after 1417. He was in France during most of this year and the next,¹⁶⁰ serving Henry V in a military capacity, and he seems to have done well out of this enterprise. He was first appointed a J.P. for Lincolnshire in 1417, and also in 1419, 1422, 1426, and 1429;¹⁶¹ he was a commissioner to examine trespasses on the King's rights over the Trent (with his younger brother Thomas) in 1417.¹⁶² By 16 December 1422 he was known as Sir William, and as a King's Knight (his younger brother John was also called a King's Knight at this time, and received from Henry V and VI a grant of 60 li per annum).¹⁶³ Sometime after 1422 William was also appointed keeper of the King's mews and falcons.¹⁶⁴ In 1426 he sat on a Commission de Walliis et fossatis for Lincolnshire.¹⁶⁵ He died before 30 October, 1429, owning lands in Lincolnshire, Berkshire and Nottinghamshire.¹⁶⁶ By his wife Margaret, who survived him, receiving Tydd and other Lincolnshire lands for her dower, he had one son Robert, who was left in ward to his cousin Ralph third Lord Cromwell.¹⁶⁷ He became 21 on 26 November 1436 (shortly after his mother's death, before 24 October of that year),¹⁶⁸ and was knighted sometime between then and his death, before 6 November 1441.¹⁶⁹ Ralph inherited from him the Swillington estates (these had been left by the first Lord Cromwell to Thomas and John should William's line fail, but by 1441 these two had died without issue).¹⁷⁰

Ralph was granted his majority on 12 May, 1421,¹⁷¹ and was summoned to every Parliament from 1422 until his death in 1455. Along with his uncles, the young Lord was called a King's Knight in 1422,¹⁷² though no crown grant is mentioned. He seems from his majority to have spent much time at court with the King, witnessing

numerous charters and, on several occasions, the handing over of the great seal; and he received as a young man several royal grants, including the wardship of Thomas de Roos in 1423,¹⁷³ the ward and marriage of Peter Frechevyle in 1433,¹⁷⁴ and the demise of the market and fair of Burgh-in-le-Mershe (Nottinghamshire) in 1425.¹⁷⁵ In 1427 and 1431 he was a commissioner of array at Berhamdon, Kent, to prepare for going to France;¹⁷⁶ in 1429 he was a witness of the assay of silver.¹⁷⁷ Ralph was also active in local administration, sitting in 1423 on the commissions de walliis et fossatis in¹⁷⁸ Lincolnshire and of ovez et terminer in Norfolk with his uncle John;¹⁷⁹ on the commission to repair bridges in Nottinghamshire in 1424,¹⁸⁰ a commission to examine lands claims in 1425;¹⁸¹ commissions de walliis et fossatis with his uncle William and for a loan, both for Lincolnshire in 1426;¹⁸² a commission de walliis et fossatis for Lincolnshire in 1428,¹⁸³ and a commission to repair the Fossdyke in 1432,¹⁸⁴ and of ovez et terminer for Lincolnshire in 1427.¹⁸⁵

Apparently on the council of John Duke of Bedford and one of his retainers (he was also one of the Duke's executors), Ralph met the latter in France to discuss "matters of state" sometime after 21 March 1433;¹⁸⁶ but Ralph was shortly back in England, where he received the office for which he is best-known: Lord High Treasurer of England, a position he held until 6 July 1443. As Treasurer, he immediately set in hand the composition of a valor to assess the value of the King's holdings and to determine the arrears, fines and other debts owed the crown, and also allow for royal expenses and liabilities. As well as making rather clearer the crown's financial condition, the assessment of 1433 exhibited ways in which the crown could better exploit its finances.¹⁸⁷ Ralph

also continued to serve the King in other capacities, spending much time at court, and lending money to the crown, notably in 1436.¹⁸⁸ For his services he received many rewards: on 3 October 1435 he was appointed Keeper of the King's Mews and Falcons, as his uncle before him;¹⁸⁹ on 22 September 1435 he received an annuity of 40 li for his "good service";¹⁹⁰ on 14 February 1437 he was made constable of Nottingham Castle and Keeper of Sherwood forest, and awarded 20 li per annum;¹⁹¹ in 1439 he received the stewardship of Macclesfield (Cheshire);¹⁹² on 26 January 1439 he was made governor of the forest of Rutland;¹⁹³ on 20 June 1441, he was granted another 10 li pro vita, per annum.¹⁹⁴ Ralph was also courted by other nobles. He was named an Executor of the Duke of Bedford in 1436¹⁹⁵ and of Sir John Cornwall in 1443.¹⁹⁶ From 1440 he received a yearly annuity from the Abbot of Westminster.¹⁹⁷ Finally, on 6 November 1442, Ralph was made Chamberlain of the Exchequer of Receipt, after ten years of service as Treasurer.¹⁹⁸

During those ten years, Cromwell continued to be active in the East Midlands, building up his holdings and his affinity. As well as being a J.P., not only in Lincolnshire but also in Oxfordshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire, he sat on commissions of uncustomed goods in Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk and Suffolk in 1438 and 1439;¹⁹⁹ a commission to take a valor of the King's lands in Lincolnshire, 1438;²⁰⁰ commissions of oyez et terminer in Northamptonshire in 1440;²⁰¹ a commission to repair waterways in Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex in 1440;²⁰² a commission to repress unlawful assemblies, and on prisoners wrongly held, in 1440;²⁰³ a commission on a loan and an inquisition on fees, both for Lincolnshire, in 1442;²⁰⁴ he was a distributor of tax allowances in

Middlesex in 1443.²⁰⁵ His involvement in other shires than Lincoln was brought about not only by his national reputation, but his shrewd dealings in land. By January 1444 Ralph had estates in Middlesex, Northamptonshire, Rutlandshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, London (Breadstreet) and Derbyshire, if not in more shires, as well as his original Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire holdings, and his wife's inheritance.²⁰⁶ Ralph married Margaret, daughter of John Lord Delincourt in 1424, when she was seventeen; she was already her father's co-heir, and by 1444 was sole heir to the Delincourt possessions, comprising lands in eleven counties.²⁰⁷

Early in 1437 Ralph began building his magnificent Tower-House at Tattershall, part of what was to become a huge complex of buildings and defence works which have almost entirely erased all traces of the Norman foundations. Part of this plan included a Collegiate Church, for which Ralph obtained a licence on 14 July 1439.²⁰⁸ From this date he became an enthusiastic supporter of such institutions, founding numerous chantries: to the Blessed Virgin at Thirgarton Church (Lincs.), 25 June 1442;²⁰⁹ to the Holy Trinity at St. Mary's Nottingham on 1 February 1445;²¹⁰ to St. Christopher at Thame in 1447;²¹¹ and to the Nativity of the Virgin at Coningsby (Lincs.), only a few miles from Tattershall, where Ralph built another dwelling.²¹² In his will the majority of Ralph's estate was directed towards the completion of the college and church of Tattershall.²¹³

After 1443, however, Ralph did not by any means retire from public life. He continued to spend much time at court in his capacity as Chencellor of the Exchequer of Receipt, and on 13 July 1444 he made a large loan to the King.²¹⁴ In return, he received

numerous favours from the crown, such as, on 15 January 1444, the escheated goods of John Lord Fanhope,²¹⁵ in 1448 the forfeited goods of a London mercer,²¹⁶ in 1450 the marriage of John Grey esq. (Notts.) and of the Plesington heir;²¹⁷ and on 1 February 1445 the ward and marriage of John Chesildon.²¹⁸ In 1445 and 1452 he was also a commissioner to collect a tax and distribute the allowance in Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire.²¹⁹ Between 1446 and 1452, he sat on sixteen different commissions and was a J.P. on eleven occasions.²²⁰ In 1459, he was one of the chief executors for Sir John Fastolph.²²¹

The third Lord Cromwell did not maintain his position at court and in the country without difficulty. In 1445 he was one of the jury which tried the then Marquess of Suffolk for embezzlement of Crown lands. De la Pole was found innocent, but it may be that his enmity with Cromwell dates from this time;²²² in 1449 and 1450 the Pastons recorded that Suffolk tried to have Cromwell killed.²²³ Possibly because of his dissatisfaction with the French peace, Cromwell seems to have become an adherent of the Duke of York, and by 1454 was certainly retained by him.²²⁴ While no-one, then or now, seems to be sure of Cromwell's movements during York's uprising in 1452, he was strongly, and probably rightly, suspected of being York's supporter, though he was not at London with York. The Earl of Warwick later accused Cromwell of as much in the King's presence;²²⁵ and in February 1453, a priest named Robert Colinson accused him of plotting to overthrow the King on 3 October 1452 with one Wilkins, who had afterwards been executed for making an attempt on the King's life and for trying to create a riot among the London commons. Cromwell was put on trial, but it quickly became apparent that

Colinson had been bribed, and that he held a grudge against Cromwell, who had expelled him from the Tattershall household and from Lincolnshire, and had warned sheriffs in other counties about his unorthodox preaching. This, and probably also the support of the Duke of York, caused him to be cleared.²²⁶ From 1453 he was a chamberlain of the royal household;²²⁷ in 1455 he was one of the arbiters between the Dukes of York and Somerset.²²⁸ At the battle of St. Albans in 1455 he seems to have sided with York once again.²²⁹ His probable part in the battles of 1459 is an academic question, however; Ralph third Lord Cromwell died on 4 January 1456 at the comparatively young age of forty-eight, after an illness lasting from the previous October.²³⁰ He left extensive lands in seventeen counties, but no child to inherit them. Margaret Delincourt had died barren two years earlier, and Ralph failed to remarry.

His father's brothers having left no issue, the sole heirs were Ralph's sister's two daughters. Maud Cromwell had married Sir Richard Stanhope, by whom she had three children. The eldest, Henry, died in 1452. His sister, Maud, had married first to Gervase Clifton, gentleman, of Lincolnshire, and after 1473 secondly to Robert Lord Willoughby. Joan, the youngest, married first Sir Humphrey Bourchier, who was called to Parliament as Lord Cromwell in 1461.²³¹ Bourchier took another of his uncle-in-law's positions, being made Constable of Nottingham Castle and Steward of Sherwood Forest in 1456.²³² He died in 1471, on the field of Barnet, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Joan, who continued to reside at Tattershall herself (though in 1473 her brother-in-law Gervase Clifton was called Steward of the Household there, which may mean that he and Maud were also living at or near the castle — just how the sisters

enjoyed their co-inheritance is uncertain ²³³, remarried before 1473 to Sir Robert Ratcliffe, of Hunstanton, Norfolk. It is difficult to discover much about this second husband; the name is not an uncommon one, and by 1472 it becomes clear that there are at least two separate individuals of this name appearing in the rolls. One, Robert Ratclyffe, esquire of the King's body, held lands in Lincolnshire and was a member of the guild of St. Mary of Coningsby "near Tattershall;" but he was married as late as 1479 to a Margaret or Maud, is called esquire long after we know Joan's husband was knighted (c. 1474), and seems to have died in 1484, too early to be our man. ²³⁴ Our Robert Radclyffe is probably that East Anglican gentleman who first appears as admiral of Norfolk and Suffolk on 9 October 1461; ²³⁵ was excheator for Essex and Herefordshire in 1465; ²³⁶ JP for Norfolk and Suffolk in 1471; ²³⁷ and sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1473, 1471, 1477 and 1478. ²³⁸ He is possibly that Robert Radclyffe who was controller of the port of Ipswich and collector of its wool customs from 1468 to 1478, ²³⁹ and that Robert Radclyffe who gifted some Lincolnshire lands to Magdalene College Oxford in 1476. ²⁴⁰ Radclyffe acquired lands in Norfolk and Essex from 1474, ²⁴¹ but never seems to have become influential outside East Anglia, despite his wife's holdings in the East Midlands. Joan died in 1490 and was buried at Tattershall; Sir Robert retired to Hunstanton and died in 1496 or 1498; and Maud, who had come to live at Tattershall after Joan's demise, was buried beside her sister in 1497. ²⁴² Both leaving no children, the estates returned to the heirs of the sisters of the second Lord Cromwell, who themselves soon died out. ²⁴³ By the early twentieth century, all that was left of the Lords Cromwell was the crumbling Tower-House at Tattershall, which

was purchased, restored and gifted to the nation by Lord and Lady Curzon in 1933.²⁴⁴

Numerous Cromwell documents useful to the study of the mediaeval noble household survive in the hands of the Lords de L'Isle and Dudley, through the marriage of one of the heiresses of the second Lord Cromwell with their ancestors; and are now deposited in the Kent County Archives. Material on the third Lord Cromwell is also in the hands of Magdalene College Library, Oxford, presumably through Radclyffe's gift of land to the college in 1476, but none is of particular use to the study of the household. The wills of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, and his grandmother Lady Maud, contain much information about their servants, possessions and household practices; numerous bailiffs' and building accounts for the manor and castle of Tattershall have also revealed facts. In particular, seven household accounts survive: for William and Margaret at Tydd, 1417-1420; for Ralph third Lord Cromwell, 1447-1451; and for Joan and Robert Radclyffe, 1473-1475. These include daily, weekly and yearly records, providing a wide variety of style, time and circumstance. All these documents are extensively catalogued in the Historical Mss Commission on the de L'Isle and Dudley mss.²⁴⁵ Secondary works on the Cromwells are sadly lacking; but W. Douglas Simpson's works on Tattershall Castle and its buildings accounts,²⁴⁶ Myatt-Price's unsatisfactory but interesting chapter on the Cromwell accounts,²⁴⁷ and J.L. Kirby's article on the third Lord Cromwell's estimates of 1433, are useful references.²⁴⁸

THE LUTTRELLS OF DUNSTER CASTLE

One can point to few members of the Luttrell line who swayed the course of British history. Yet, rather like the Bassets,²⁴⁹ they are one of the very few rich, landed families of England for whom the male line, from at least the twelfth century and probably well before, has not failed, down to the present day; and their family seat, Dunster Castle in Somerset, about fifteen miles inland from Minehead, has been in the family's hands for five hundred and seventy nine years — the longest continuous occupancy by a single family of one building, in Britain. "Luttrell" is a Norman name, from the French loutre or otter, which animal decorates numerous mediaeval and modern Luttrell seals. The name's earliest recorded occurrence is in Normandy, where an Osbert and a Robert Lotrel were landholders in 1195. In England, the surname first occurs in the person of Geoffrey Luttrell, an adherent of King John, then Count of Mortain, in 1193, when due to his part in John's rebellion he was deprived of his estates. On John's accession, however, Geoffrey was reinstated, holding in 1199 a total of seven and a half knight's fees for which he paid a baronial relief, encompassing lands in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and especially Nottinghamshire, in which latter county he established the family seat at Irnham. Geoffrey continued to serve John in numerous capacities, culminating in his role as one of the ambassadors sent to Pope Innocent III in 1215. In this service Geoffrey prospered, eventually marrying one of the Paganel heiresses. In 1216 he died, having amassed twenty-seven and a half knight's fees in land from 1199, left to his son Andrew.²⁵⁰

In 1269 Andrew's eldest son, Geoffrey II, inherited Irnham and the lands in the East Midlands. Andrew's second son, Alexander,



gained as his chief estate the manor of East Quantockshead, Somerset, which in Domesday book is registered as a Paganel holding.

Alexander died in the mid-east in the course of the Crusade of 1270, leaving his Nottinghamshire, Devonshire and Somerset holdings to his two sons, Alexander II and Andrew II. Geoffrey II of Irnham had been declared insane in 1266 and given into the custody of his brother, but this Geoffrey's own heir, Sir Robert, Lord Luttrell, continued the Irnham line; this died out in 1417.²⁵¹

Sir Alexander Luttrell II, of East Quantockshead, sold many of the family estates, leaving his son Thomas little more than the chief manor of East Quantockshead in c. 1348. Sir John, Thomas's heir and probably his son,²⁵² died childless in 1403, leaving his estates to his cousin Hugh, the descendant of his grandfather's brother Andrew II, Alexander II's second son. This Andrew's eldest son, Sir John II, of Chilton, Devon, was knighted in 1337, and served as MP for Devon from 1360 to 1363 and in 1368. He died before 1378,²⁵³ leaving a single child, Andrew III, who made a brilliant marriage that brought not only money and prestige into the Luttrell family, but in time Dunster Castle and numerous other lands, including the Hundred of Carhampton. Lady Elizabeth Courtenay was the eldest daughter of the second Earl of Devon, and the widow of Sir John de Vere, heir of the tenth Earl of Oxford. She and her second husband were royal favourites, often at court, receiving the grant of a yearly annuity in 1359 from Edward III (renewed by Richard II), worth £200, in order to maintain their station in life.²⁵⁴ In 1361 they went on pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, perhaps in order to alleviate Elizabeth's barrenness, for it was not until c. 1370 that she bore Andrew III's sole heir, Hugh, shortly before her husband's death.²⁵⁵ She took her

role as Hugh's guardian seriously, and by her astuteness provided him with a splendid inheritance. In 1374 she purchased from Lady Joan de Mohun, widow of John, Lord of Dunster, the last male of the de Mohun line, the reversion of the dower-lands for 200 marks. This consisted chiefly of the hundred of Carhampton in Somerset, near East Quantockshead, and included the manors of Minehead, Dunster, Carhampton and Kilton, all valuable farm-land and fishing-coast. Elizabeth, dying in 1395, never enjoyed her investment, but on the death of Lady de Mohun in 1404 the reversion went to Elizabeth's heir, Hugh.

The three female heiresses of John de Mohun — Elizabeth, Countess of Salisbury; the Duchess of York, and Lady Strange of Knockyn — were incensed at what they regarded as their mother's unlawful sale of their inheritance, and they and their families challenged the validity of the reversion. On 14 May 1406 the King nominated nine judges to consider the case; but Hugh, who was MP for Devon at that time, managed to have the House of Commons send up petitions that the case be heard before four peers and all the justices to settle the matter before 1 November 1406, due to "the chance of speedy mischief and riot". The case was decided in favour of Hugh Luttrell in the Michaelmas term of 1406. He had, in any case, been living at Dunster since at least September of 1404.²⁵⁶

The fairly large population, the wealth of the land and the concentration of the inheritance made Hugh's a voice to be reckoned with in the county, and enriched him suddenly and dramatically, raising, in a year, his income from 350 li to 700 li. The difference between the shambling manor house at Chilton and East Quantockshead, simple fortified farmhouses, and the magnificent Norman Keep at

Dunster, illustrates nicely Hugh's change in fortunes. In 1404 this Keep was still standing, on the natural tor from which the place took its name;²⁵⁷ the lower bailey was walled in stone and a stone hall and other buildings stood within this. Though probably in some disrepair after twenty year's habitation by a single widow, — in 1405-1406 Hugh spent much money on many small repairs to the fabric, and in making a salt-cellar and a new gatehouse — it was still a formidable and impressive defensive-holding, which the de Mohun heiresses would have thought twice about inflicting with "mischief and riot". A small port, a market town and a Cistercian abbey nestled at its feet. With ready access to Minehead and within two day's ride of Bristol, Dunster was a splendidly-appointed seat for its new master.²⁵⁸

The inheritor of this sudden wealth and potential power was himself a remarkably able man. Hugh Luttrell soon made his mark at the royal court and in country life. He became a knight in 1389, spent Christmas at Court in 1390, and in 1391 was granted an annual annuity of £20 from Richard II.²⁵⁹ In 1393 he was serving as a justice of Oyez and Terminer in Sussex and Somerset, and of wrack and wreck in Surrey and Sussex.²⁶⁰ Around this time he married Catherine, daughter of Sir John Beaumont and widow of Sir John Strecche. Richard and his Queen continued to favour the young knight, on 20 June 1394 granting him the wardenship of the forest of Gillingham (Notts.) for life, which he held until 1403, when he returned the office to Henry IV in return for a debt cancelled (concerning back-rent on royal lands in Kent which Hugh farmed in the 1390's).²⁶¹ Hugh followed Richard II to Ireland on 2 October 1394,²⁶² where he apparently served the King well, as on 23 August 1395 Richard

retained Hugh for life, for a yearly annuity of 40 li, calling Hugh "the King's kinsman".²⁶³ The royal bond was further strengthened in 1397, when on 28 October, due to Queen Isabella's "great love" for him, Hugh was made Constable of Leeds Castle for life (also terminated to cover his debts in 1403), and surveyor of the parks, warrens and stanks of the royal manors at Bristol and Mortlake.²⁶⁴

Hugh's elderly cousin Sir John Luttrell of whom Hugh became the sole heir, was a retainer of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster;²⁶⁵ and perhaps encouraged by this connection Hugh speedily became an adherent of Henry IV, who on 25 November 1399 renewed Hugh's 40 li annuity, adding to it two more worth 25 li and 100s per annum, and confirming his constablenesship of Leeds Castle.²⁶⁶ On 26 April 1400 Hugh followed Henry IV to Scotland, acquitting himself well; and in the same year he was appointed to enquire into the Lordship of Hammes.²⁶⁷ Shortly after, in February of 1401, Hugh was appointed Lieutenant to Peter de Courtenay, Captain of Calais (his maternal uncle), initiating a long career on the continent in the service of the English King.²⁶⁸ Hugh apparently had great difficulties with the soldiers of the Calais garrison, and presented his resignation on 6 November 1403 for this reason, but was persuaded to remain until 18 May 1404,²⁶⁹ taking up the position awarded him on 25 April 1404 as Mayor of Bordeaux, which office he held till his death.²⁷⁰ Around the same date he was sworn as a King's counsellor.²⁷¹ At the end of 1403 he was appointed to attend the Duke of Burgundy, with whom he remained until at least 10 January 1404; numerous of his letters home to the King have survived.²⁷² In the summer of 1404 he seems to have returned to England. He was MP for Somerset in 1404,²⁷³ and was busy taking possession of Dunster,

preparing to do battle with the de Mohun heiresses, and acting as executor to Sir Peter de Courtenay, his uncle and former commander.²⁷⁴ He was also a Commissioner of Array for Somerset in this year.²⁷⁵ On 5 November, however, he was again heading for France to attend negotiations concerning Hammes.²⁷⁶ On 17 December he was one of those considered for the post of sheriff of Somerset, being favoured by Sir Humphrey Stafford, but not, apparently, by Sir Ralph Boynton.²⁷⁷ In fact Hugh never served as a sheriff.

Hugh remained chiefly in England, with occasional trips to Bordeaux, until 1416, becoming one of the more important men in the West Country. In 1406 he was commissioned to audit the accounts of the Treasurer of Wars,²⁷⁸ and in 1406 and 1407 was MP for Devon.²⁷⁹ He was at the same time farming royal lands in Norfolk and Suffolk, despite his earlier financial difficulties over his Kent venture. In 1408 he was on the commission to collect tenths and fifteenths for Somerset, and also in 1410 for Somerset and Dorset.²⁸⁰ Hugh remained close to court, being appointed in 1412 steward of the Queen's household, and Constable of Bristol Castle, and warden of the forests of Kingswood and Fulwood (Gloucestershire) for life.²⁸¹ In the same year he sold his property in Hertfordshire and Middlesex,²⁸² which he probably inherited from his mother. In 1414 he again stood as MP for Somerset, and in 1416 sat as a justice of oyez and terminer for both Dorset and Wiltshire²⁸³ and on the commission for the repression of the Lollards.²⁸⁴

In 1416 Hugh, with his eldest son John, served on the Commission of Array for Somerset.²⁸⁵ Hugh was appointed counsellor to the English Governor of Harfleur after its fall (in 1418 he became governor himself).²⁸⁶ In 1417 he formed and led his own company

in the French Wars, for which the King paid him 286 li. This band included Hugh's cousin, Sir Geoffrey, Lord Luttrell, of Irnham, who died in France.²⁸⁷ In the next year he was present at the siege of Rouen, and was one of those deputed to treat for the surrender of various French towns in the district.²⁸⁸ In 1420 he was made Grand Senechal of Normandy,²⁸⁹ and also steward to the Household of Henry V's Queen.²⁹⁰ For the next eight years, Hugh perambulated constantly between France, where he divided his time between Normandy and Bordeaux; the English Court; and on occasion Dunster Castle. He continued to serve on county commissions, sitting on that to raise a loan in Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire in 1421,²⁹¹ on the Oyez and Terminer for Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Southampton in 1422;²⁹² the commissions to collect tenths and fifteenths in Devon and Cornwall,²⁹³ and on Piracy off Somerset,²⁹⁴ in 1422; he served on the commissions of Peace for Devon and Somerset from 1419 until his death;²⁹⁵ a commission to raise a loan in Somerset, Dorset and Bristol in 1426;²⁹⁶ in the same year he was a justice of Oyez and Terminer on witches and Lollards in Somerset,²⁹⁷ and in 1427 the general commission of Oyez and Terminer for Somerset included Hugh Luttrell.²⁹⁸

In 1422 he and his son John were granted an annuity by the Crown to start a religious house in the vicinity of Porlock²⁹⁹ — probably around a chapel of the Holy Trinity there, to which John and Hugh both made pilgrimages³⁰⁰ — though no evidence, of such a community ever existing, comes to light. In the same year Hugh was appointed Steward and Keeper of the Devon lands of the late Earl of Devon during the new Earl's minority.³⁰¹ In 1427 Hugh was granted a licence to enclose, empark and crenellate his holdings at Axminster—

Wycroft, Devon, and given free warren there.³⁰² By January of 1428, however, he was ill, dying on 24 March, 1428. He was buried at Dunster, in the parish church, where his much defaced but still splendid alabaster effigy can still be seen. His writ of diem clausit extremam lists him as holding lands in Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Norfolk and Suffolk.³⁰³

Hugh's wife Catherine retired to her mother's house in Devon, where she had spent a good deal of her time in Hugh's absence.³⁰⁴ She herself died in 1435, and was buried beside Hugh;³⁰⁵ her effigy, too, survives. She had borne him six children who survived to adulthood: a son William, who was perhaps that Luttrell who was record of Birch Parva, Essex, in 1441-1443;³⁰⁶ Elizabeth, who married William Harleston, a Devon gentleman; Anne, who married William Godwin of Somerset; Margaret, wife of John de Cotes, also of Somerset;³⁰⁷ and Joan, who became a nun at Shaftsbury.³⁰⁸ John, the eldest, was returned as thirty-four at his father's death, being born therefore around 1394. By 1418 John had moved from his father's house, and set up with his wife Margaret (a daughter of the fourth Baron Audeley) at the Manors of Carhampton (where John was born) and East Quantockshead.³⁰⁹ Hugh also ceded him lands in Cornwall.³¹⁰ In 1416 he received his first official appointment, on the commission of Array for Somerset with his father; he may have accompanied Hugh to France in 1417. In 1425 he is called "esquire" in committing the lands of the Earl of March to the latter's official guardian;³¹¹ by 1428 he had been knighted.³¹² John received full seisin of his father's lands on 24 May, 1428.³¹³ In 1430 he sat on the commissions of peace for Somerset and Devon.³¹⁴ However, he had little chance to achieve his father's heights of influence, dying on

30 July 1430.³¹⁵

John left only one child, James, only three or four years old in 1430. Margaret and the Bishop of Bath and Wells contested each other for custody of James and control of the Luttrell lands not in dower to Catherine, Margaret not receiving full control of hers until 1432.³¹⁶ James seems to have remained in her custody. She remarried in 1432 to one Robert Coker, esquire, after which the "run" of household accounts at Dunster cease.³¹⁷ She died in 1437, and James became the ward of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Earl of Stafford and a cousin, Sir Philip de Courtenay. James married the latter's daughter Elizabeth. He was knighted in 1460 at the battle of Wakefield, but was subsequently killed at the second battle of St. Albans. James' son Hugh forfeited his estates under Edward IV, but was restored to them after the battle of Bosworth.³¹⁸ The family resided in gentle obscurity at Dunster, none rising to Sir Hugh's heights of influence; and, sans disturbance or upheaval, the family records were left unrecorded till the 1870's.

Sir Herbert C. Maxwell-Lyte, a Somerset gentleman and antiquarian (and a descendant of the Somerset genealogist Thomas Lyte, d. 1638), catalogued the papers in Dunster Castle for the Luttrells, publishing articles on them in the Archaeological Journal in 1880 and 1881;³¹⁹ and in 1882, producing Dunster and its Lords, which dealt with the de Mohuns as well as the Luttrells. Today the Dunster Castle Archives are kept in the Somersetshire Record Office, Taunton, still utilizing the Maxwell-Lyte catalogue-system. Of the surviving documents, many contain useful information about the households of Hugh, John and Margaret Luttrell, from 1401 to 1432, including seven household accounts, some indentures and several receivers-general and bailiff's

accounts which contain household expenses, especially for those years when Hugh was largely absent from the country. All these documents are particularly detailed, providing much useful information for the student of the household.

THE STONORS OF STONOR

The Camden Society, between 1919 and 1924, published a series of personal letters, dating from 1290 to 1500, of the family of Stonor.³²⁰ Edited by C.L. Kingsford from documents in Chancery Miscellanea, they have since been acknowledged as one of the four most important, early-letter collections in England, along with those of the Pastons, Plumptons and Celys. Kingsford included in his first volume of the edition,³²¹ a masterly introduction, including an exhaustive biography of the Stonor family; and in 1951 the amateurish but occasionally useful Stonor, by Robert Julian Stonor, O.S.B.,³²² was published. Nevertheless, the family and its papers remain less well-known than they perhaps should be, and a fairly extensive re-capitulation of the family history to 1500 is worth including here.

The manor of Stonor, from which the family of Stonor derives its name, was held by one Henry the Legate, Bishop of Bangor and a royal official, in Domesday Book. He may or may not be a relation of the Robert de Stonora who held the manor in 1170; but the latter can reasonably be accepted as the father or uncle of Richard de Stonore, born c. 1180, who next appears as the holder. His son and grandson, both called Richard, followed him as the holders of Stonor, the last Richard spelling his name "de Stonore".

The latter greatly increased the family lands, leaving his son John thirteen manors, of which nine form a cluster around Stonor and served as the centre of their influence in Oxfordshire and Berkshire. But it was this John, born around 1280 or 1285, who really established the family fortunes.³²³

John and his three younger brothers all took minor orders to study law at Oxford (John was registered as a clerk there in 1301), though none of them subsequently continued in the church. John's name appears frequently in the year books from 1307. In 1313 he was summoned to Parliament as a serjeant-at-law, the year before he inherited Stonor, and in 1316 he was being paid an annuity of 20 li per annum "for his expenses in the King's service". After this date he is to be found on numerous commissions of a judicial nature; in 1319 he was on the commission enquiring into the misgovernment of the Channel Islands by Otho de Grandison. His experience in serving the crown led to his being appointed a justice of the common pleas on 16 October, 1320, an appointment reaffirmed by Edward III in 1327. In 1325 he was trusted as one of the commissioners to treat for marriages between the future Edward III and King Alfonso of Castile's sister Eleanor; and between Alfonso and Princess Eleanor, Edward II's eldest daughter. For this John Stonor was paid 6s 8d per diem on the seas, and 13s 4d per diem on land. In 1329 he was made chief justice of the common pleas and also chief baron of the Exchequer. He was imprisoned in the ministerial crisis of November 1340, but a year and a half later he was restored as chief justice, on 9 May 1342. He retired on 22 February 1354 due to "weakness of body", though the King retained him as a counsellor. He died a few months later, and was buried at Dorchester Abbey, where an effigy of him in his judge's robes still can be seen.³²⁴

Sir John was the first truly important, perhaps the most important of all the mediaeval Stonors, politically speaking; and he further established the family as important local figures. The profits of his offices and the wardship of four tenants-in-chief, — Thomas de la Hay (Oxfordshire), Ralph Boyou, William de Bodrugan (who married one of John's daughters), and Edmund de Benstede (on whose death the Stonors obtained his manor of Ermington, Devon) — allowed John to acquire considerable land, and his son, John II, inherited twenty two manors in 1359.³²⁵ This John, who fought at Crecy and was knighted in 1351, was forty-four or forty-five at his father's death. He married a Devon woman, Margery Winnard, who bore him one son, Edmund. When John died in 1361, this son was about sixteen, the first of four generations of heirs who came into their lands as minors; no other mediaeval Stonor came close to the longevity of John I. Edmund, however, is the first Stonor for whom a household account survives.

Edmund de Stonore was made a ward of Isabella, Countess of Bedford.³²⁶ He obtained his seisin in 1365;³²⁷ but we know little of him before 1378, when he was made sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and keeper of Oxford Castle.³²⁸ From this year dates the first household account, a day-book, which records the entertainment of several justices of the common pleas.³²⁹ Edmund was an assessor and collector of tax for Oxfordshire, 1379 to 1380;³³⁰ a knight of the shire for Oxfordshire in 1380,³³¹ and a JP in 1380 and 1381.³³² He seems to have been well-known about the University of Oxford, and was in 1378 commissioned to rectify the theft of seals, paper and other items by a clerk from Queenhall College;³³³ from 1378 to 1380 he was involved in restoring order and investigating problems of the priory of St. Frideswide, near the city of

Oxford.³³⁴ In 1381, he was on the Commission to suppress unlawful assemblies; in the Peasant's Revolt of that year the court rolls of some of his Hertfordshire manors were burnt.³³⁵ Edmund died at the young age of thirty-seven, on 25 April, 1382. At his death his lands were valued at 346 li per annum. Part of this is due to his inheritance of the Harmull estates, which had come to the Stonors through the third Richard's wife (see appendices). He had married well, to Lady Elizabeth de L'Isle, a sister of Waryn de L'Isle of Shirburn Castle, which lies a few miles north of Stonor. She bore Edmund several children, of whom three were living in 1382: John, Ralph, and Elizabeth.³³⁶

John, thirteen at his father's death, was of a delicate constitution and indeed died in 1383. His brother Ralph, at the age of nine, inherited his lands. Richard II's Queen, Anne, had granted the ward and marriage of Ralph and Elizabeth to one John Holt, who sold them to Robert Belknap, a justice of the common pleas, whose daughter Joan Ralph married in 1387.³³⁷ In 1388 Belknap was condemned with Tresilian and exiled to Ireland; the lands of Stonor returned to the custody of the crown, and in 1389 Ralph was granted 40 li a year from the farm of these during his minority.³³⁸ He obtained seisin of his lands on 7 July, 1390,³³⁹ and shortly afterwards purchased some lands in Nettlebed (Oxfordshire); but otherwise we know nothing of him until he was knighted in October, 1394 before going to Ireland with Richard II.³⁴⁰ He died in Ireland, in unknown circumstances, on 13 November 1394, at the age of twenty-four. He left two sons: Gilbert, who was born in 1393 and died in 1396, and Thomas born 26 April 1394.³⁴¹

Joan Belknap remarried, in October 1395, Edmund Hampden, a King's esquire, by whom she had three children; she died before 1425.

Thomas and Gilbert were first put under the guardianship of William Wilcotes and Thomas Barantyne of Hasely, Oxfordshire, but by 1404 Thomas had been acquired by Thomas Chaucer, son of the poet, for 200 li.³⁴² Chaucer perhaps intended young Stonor for his daughter Alice. But Chaucer, an important man who twice became speaker of the house of commons and served as honourary chief butler to Henry IV, found a better match for his only child; she married Thomas, Earl of Salisbury and then William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk. Alice was a patron and benefactor to the Stonors in later years. Thomas lived with Chaucer at Ewelme (later the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk's seat in Oxfordshire) and Henley-in-the-Saltmarsh (Oxfordshire) until he obtained seisin of his lands on 26 April, 1415.³⁴³ Though not at Agincourt he seems to have been in France from 1419 to 1420, before which time he was married to Alice Kirby or Kirkby, the heiress of a Kentish knight, Sir Thomas Kirby.³⁴⁴ She brought to the Stonors numerous lands, the most important of which was the house and manor of Horton Kirby.

Thomas was frequently knight of the shire, sitting for Oxford in 1416, 1419, 1425, 1427, 1429, and 1431;³⁴⁵ he was a sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire in 1427/1428 and 1423/1424;³⁴⁶ a J.P. in 1423 and 1425;³⁴⁷ and a commissioner to raise a loan in Oxfordshire and Berkshire in 1430.³⁴⁸ As a young man he sat on many of these commissions with Thomas Chaucer. He was a great improver of his lands. In 1396 he had inherited twenty-four manors in seven counties;³⁴⁹ of these he sold his Lincolnshire properties in favour of lands closer to Stonor. He also feuded with the Fortescues, his Devon neighbours, over his rights to the Ermington fisheries, and made numerous improvements to Stonor itself, including the building of the "clock tower" with 200,000 bricks commissioned from a colony

of Flemish brickmakers at Nettlebed.³⁵⁰ When he died at the age of thirty-seven on 2 March, 1431, the widow's dower alone was worth 400 li³⁵¹ — more than the whole Stonor holdings had been worth in 1382.

Thomas left five daughters and two sons. The eldest boy, Thomas II, was born on 22 March, 1424, and was thus seven at his father's death. In his father's will he was left in ward of Thomas Chaucer; the daughters and a younger son, John, were left jointly to Chaucer, Alice Kirby and Thomas I's estates receiver.³⁵² Alice remarried, to Richard Drayton, an Oxfordshire squire, by whom she had two daughters.³⁵³ The Draytons lived at Stonor during Thomas II's youth, but moved by 1445 to Horton Kirby, where they died within two days of each other in 1468.³⁵⁴ Many affectionate letters survive between Alice, Drayton and Thomas II; the latter spoke of Drayton as "my second father".³⁵⁵ Thomas II lived with Chaucer at Henley-in-the-Saltmarsh until Chaucer's death in 1434, when he seems to have moved into Stonor with his mother and stepfather. He obtained seisin of his lands early, at the age of eighteen, on 26 November 1442.³⁵⁶

Thomas II attended the Parliaments of 1447 and 1449;³⁵⁷ and sat on a commission to treat for a loan in 1449.³⁵⁸ He was sheriff for Oxfordshire and Berkshire in 1453/1454, 1463/1464 and 1465/1466.³⁵⁹ In 1463 he was an assessor for a tax in Oxfordshire and a keeper of lands of a defaulting sheriff in Buckinghamshire.³⁶⁰ His actions and affections during the struggle between the Yorkists and Lancastrians in 1459 are unknown; but in 1463 and again in 1470 he was summoned to military service by Edward IV.³⁶¹ From 1466 to 1469 he was retained by George Neville, Archbishop of York.³⁶² Thomas II was first a J.P. in 1466, and served on all the commissions of the

Peace for Oxfordshire from this year until his death.³⁶³ He was a Justice of Oyez and Terminer for Oxfordshire in 1470, and a commissioner of Array for the same county in 1471 and 1472.³⁶⁴ It appears that whatever his political leanings, he rode over the political vicissitudes of these difficult years without disaster.

Thomas II seems to have followed the estates policy initiated by his father -- that of consolidating the Stonor holdings. He sold the Buckinghamshire estates in 1468-1469, and leased Horton Kirby to a London lawyer, Richard Page, after the Draytons died. He acquired in turn more lands in Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and also some in the West Country, near Ermington.³⁶⁵ Before 1453 he married one Joan or Jeanne, who was born and raised in Normandy.³⁶⁶ Nothing certain is known of her background. Leland posits twice that she was an illegitimate daughter of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and the tragic Countess Jacqueline of Holland, Zealand and Hainault.³⁶⁷ The Visitation of Oxfordshire also calls Joan a natural daughter of William de la Pole, without naming a mother, (the connection of the Stonors and Suffolk through Alice Chaucer makes such a marriage conceivable).³⁶⁸ She bore Thomas seven children between 1449 and 1460. Thomas died on 23 April, 1474, and was buried in Pyrton church, near Stonor.³⁶⁹

Thomas II's eldest son, William, was twenty-four at his father's death, the first adult Stonor heir in one-hundred and forty years.³⁷⁰ In addition there were two younger brothers, Thomas and Edmund, and four sisters. Two of the latter were already married, but the two youngest, Mary and Elizabeth, were placed with the Duchess of Suffolk, Alice Chaucer's daughter-in-law and Edward IV's sister.³⁷¹ Joan and her sons seem to have continued to live together at Stonor until William's marriage.

William Stonor was born in 1449, coming of age in 1470 or 1471.³⁷² As a boy he accompanied his father to Ermington in 1466,³⁷³ and by 1470 he was going, each summer, to the West Country estates, supplying Thomas II with reports on their condition.³⁷⁴ In 1471 his half-uncle reported with disfavour that he was so overeager in promoting the family interests there that he tried to force a grant from one Frith, forcing on the latter 8s for it, with the help of his brother Thomas; which money the uncle returned.³⁷⁵ Another uncle called him a "muser and a studier",³⁷⁶ and hoped that "he would prove the worshipfullest of the Stonors".³⁷⁷ In some ways this hope came true.

While William's brothers followed the King to France in 1475, William himself remained in England, tending to family business and his own interests. Early in that year Thomas III wrote him from London about a gentlewoman whom he chides William with neglecting;³⁷⁸ this was probably Elizabeth Ryche (nee Croke), whom he married in June or July 1475. She occupied a prominent place in London society; her father had been an alderman, her first husband an influential mercer, and her sisters married well, within the London civic community.³⁷⁹ Wealthy, extravagant and a little older than William, the other Stonors, in particular Thomas III, thought her something of a parvenue.³⁸⁰ The marriage was for her, certainly, a social step up into the landed gentry, which gave her the opportunity to go to court and to wait on the Queen;³⁸¹ for William it proved a useful connection with the wool trade through his wife's city relations. Thomas Betson and John Fenn, his chief wool-agents, were related to Elizabeth; Betson married her daughter Catherine Ryche,³⁸² and Fenn's children became her wards in 1477.³⁸³

William also immersed himself in Public duties. He was MP for Oxfordshire in 1478;³⁸⁴ on 16 March of that year he was made a knight of the Bath at the marriage of Prince Richard, a signal honour.³⁸⁵ William and his mother Joan seem at this time to have been in favour with the Duke of Suffolk, and with the Queen; as well the Marquess of Dorset thought Stonor "a most courteous knight".³⁸⁶ Between July 1478 and September 1479 he was made a knight of the King's Body.³⁸⁷ In 1479 he obtained the stewardship of Thame from the Bishop of Lincoln, and granted an annuity to the King's secretary;³⁸⁸ and he obtained the wardship of both Agnes Lovell, heir to Lord Morley, and her first cousin, Francis Lord Lovell.³⁸⁹ William was a JP for Oxfordshire in 1476 and from 1478 to 1483.³⁹⁰

After Elizabeth's death early in 1480, William dropped most of his city connections, using agents to handle his wool sales; he even sold the wardship of the Fenn children.³⁹¹ Less than six months after Elizabeth's death he remarried, to Agnes Winnerd, widow of one John Wydeslade and heiress of lands in Devon and Cornwall.³⁹² She was, however, sickly at the time of her marriage, and died on 5 May, 1481.³⁹³ William again remarried with great promptitude, to Anne Neville, niece of the Kingmaker and a daughter of the Marquess Montague, in the autumn of 1481.³⁹⁴ In August, 1482 she bore William his first son.³⁹⁵

Sir William was a justice of oyez and terminer for Oxfordshire in 1481 and a commissioner to assess tax subsidies in 1483.³⁹⁶ From 1481 he was involved in a quarrel, perhaps over her dower, with his mother, who swore at her son's servants, and when at the royal court in 1482 complained to the Queen; she also sent a petition of complaint to the King.³⁹⁷ Though this strained relations with Elizabeth Woodville, Stonor was nevertheless one of the four knights chosen to carry the

canopy over the King's body, and led the funeral litter of Edward IV to Windsor.³⁹⁸ He attended the coronation of Richard III, and then retreated to the West Country, where Canon Stillworth of Westminster Abbey, giving him news of the Queen in Sanctuary, wrote him, "I hold you happy that you are well out of the Press".³⁹⁹ However, William eventually brought himself into the middle of the Press, and was nearly squeezed to death in the process. Stonor's Woodville connections brought him under suspicion, of which Francis, Lord Lovell, warned him in October 1483, and urged him to join the King.⁴⁰⁰ But William's relations with the Marquess of Dorset, of whom his wife was now co-heiress, probably decided him; and he joined the Buckingham rebellion, and was attainted on 23 January 1484.⁴⁰¹ He probably fled to Brittany with Dorset; shortly after the Battle of Bosworth he was fully restored in lands and blood.⁴⁰² He was sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire in 1485/1486, and a J.P. from 1485 till 1493.⁴⁰³ In 1485 he was granted the free farm of the royal manor of Crosslowe, Buckinghamshire, for twelve years.⁴⁰⁴ Anne Neville died in 1486, leaving him two children, John (heir of the Montague and Inguldsthorpe lands) and Anne.⁴⁰⁵ He was made a knight Banneret at the Battle of Stoke in 1487;⁴⁰⁶ he got the reversion of the Constabulary of the Castle of Wallingford in 1488;⁴⁰⁷ he was commissioner of the array of archers for the relief of Brittany in 1488.⁴⁰⁸ In 1490/1491 he was made sheriff of Devonshire, an area where he had struggled to exert Stonor influence since his youth.⁴⁰⁹ Also in 1490, he was a justice of gaol delivery for Wallingford Castle.⁴¹⁰ In 1492 he was made steward of Oxford University, being called in the Fasti Oxoniensis "the most valiant knight of his time."⁴¹¹ In April 1493 he and his mother were finally reconciled; she made him an executor of her will, but he predeceased

her, dying on 20 May, 1494.⁴¹² She died in November of the same year.

William's son John, born in 1482, was only twelve at his father's death. He and his sister were put in ward to Sir John Fortescue of Punsborne, a nephew of the chief justice, and were married to Sir John's own son and daughter, effectively ending over twenty years of feuding between the two families.⁴¹³ John died in 1499 without heirs.⁴¹⁴ William's brother Thomas claimed the Stonor lands as the male heir, which was contested by William's daughter Anne, but the case was settled out of court, with Anne getting most of the Devon holdings while Thomas retained those in Oxfordshire, including the nine ancestral manors clustered about Stonor.⁴¹⁵ These were formally made in tail male,⁴¹⁶ and the descendants of Thomas Stonor, through his son Walter, one of the oldest recusant families, still own these lands.

The Stonor documents have survived in abundance due to two accidents of history. Despite the continuing residence of the Stonor family at Stonor over the past eight-hundred years, few or no documents from before 1650 remain in their hands. During William Stonor's attainder some of his documents seem to have been confiscated by the crown, and many seem to have been submitted in "ij grete chestes lokkyd" as exhibits in the legal suits between Anne and Thomas Stonor in 1500, and to have been left in the custody of the courts, forgotten.⁴¹⁷ As a result, a large collection of Stonor documents for the period 1290 to 1500 are now in the Public Record Office, under Chancery Miscellanea, where they were discovered by Kingsford, as aforementioned. Unlike the Paston Letters, the Stonor papers include a number of household documents, most of which Kingsford has merely summarized

or partially edited. These are not the great, systematic, daily compilations or yearly summaries which constitute the majority of other surviving household accounts; they are rough notes, bills, shopping lists, expense claims, drafts for year and day-accounts; and three roughly-kept, continuous daily records. These are the building-blocks out of which formal accounts were constructed.

These biographical outlines of the five families to be used in this thesis as the basis for our discussion of the secular noble household, illustrate some of the diversities of geography, activity, income and status prevalent among the fifteenth-century English nobility. While, unfortunately, no noble or gentle family based north of the Humber has left enough records to allow their inclusion among the chosen five, the Luttrells, Stonors, Staffords, de Veres and Cromwells do give us examples of households operating in five different areas of southern and central England. As well we will be able to examine how the political and social activities and concerns of a master affected his household: while some of the men and women discussed here who headed households spent much of their time abroad, such as Hugh Luttrell, or at the royal court, like the sixteenth Earl of Oxford, and the third Duke of Buckingham, others like Thomas Stonor I and Robert Radcliffe, were chiefly involved in local affairs and spent most of their time in and around their chief seats. The net incomes of these five families and consequently the lavishness of their households also vary widely: from Thomas Stonor II's income of 800 li per annum in 1431 (see p. 65), which made him a relatively wealthy man, but

still much less well off than the twelfth Earl of Oxford, accounted the richest peer in England in 1436,⁴¹⁸ or the 1st Duke of Buckingham, worth £5,000 per annum in 1438 (see p.22). Finally, of course, these five families cover a fairly wide range of the differences of status and background among nobles and gentry in England: a ducal family, a comital family, a lord of Parliament, and two knightly families, one the Luttrells descended from an ancient baronial family, and the other, the Stonors, sprung from the fortunes of a fourteenth-century Chief Justice. As well, the records of these families' households include fair copies of year-rolls, rough notes or shopping lists, day books, bills, and all the different stages in the accounting process by which we may discern something of how the household worked. In order to understand this establishment fully, one must comprehend how the accounting systems of these five households worked; it would be as well to move from a biographical account of the Staffords, de Veres, Cromwells, Luttrells and Stonors to an analysis of the remains by which we discern their households.

Chapter III

Household Organization

Many modern corporations publish, in advertisements and descriptive brochures, diagrams which purport to show the structure and the chain of authority within which the company in question functions. These illustrations are indicative of the way in which twentieth-century humans conceive order and structure. But however hard one tries, one cannot draw the same type of diagram for mediaeval noble households, either in general or in particular.

Firstly, we simply do not have enough information about them to construct anything like a complete picture of household organization: significant gaps are bound to appear. For instance, we probably never have a complete list of the servants for any one household in any single year. In addition the changes, and the amoeba-like splits and re-joinings, which occurred within a single noble household from year to year, from season to season, would require a large number of coordinated diagrams before a competent picture could be constructed. One would need to consider the part played by people who are perhaps only connected with, but not part of, the household yet occasionally perform household functions, such as tenants, estates servants, and kinsfolk of the master, and how such people would be represented.

Moreover, there seems to have been no clear "chain of command" within the mediaeval noble household. We know that the steward was a maior domus of some kind with household-wide powers; but we do not know the extent of the authority he had over a kitchen clerk, and how much control over the latter the chaplain, as chief cleric, had; nor do we know whether the kitchen clerk had any control over the chief larderer or pantler or whether they were independent of him. Inability

to reconstruct a diagrammatical hierarchy is perhaps ultimately due to the haphazard circumstances which brought the household into existence. It was not, after all, constructed in the conscious manner of a modern company, but grew up over several centuries. Its structure was complicated by an infinity of interrelated responsibilities, duties, powers and privileges.

All these problems complicate the study of specific households at specific times; wide variations between different families, generations, time periods, further complicate any general discussion of household organization, and make it impossible to present such structures pictorially.

While these problems complicate the study of noble household organization, they qualify rather than negate any such study. The wide-ranging and sometimes bewildering variations between households are in themselves significant and explicable; and certain common denominators exist around which the variations can be grouped and discussed.

"Organization;" "structure;" "Hierarchy;" what do these terms mean? For our purposes one can best describe the first two terms as applying to the method of dividing labour and specializing functions for the sake of greater efficiency and convenience; and hierarchy as the relative distribution of authority among and between the members of the organized household to coordinate its actions.

This division of labour is achieved in quite different degrees by the five households used in this study. The large Stafford and de Vere households show evidence of a high degree of organization, with many specialized departments and servants; those of the Luttrell and Stonor families on the other hand are relatively small and show

little sign of any organization, not just because of a lack of information, but through positive evidence of little formal structure or division of labour. The Cromwells lie between these two extremes: Ralph, Lord Cromwell seems to have had a large, structured staff, though not as rigid as the Lords of Oxford and Buckingham; but that of his niece, and his uncle's small household, show no real sign of specialization.

The evidence for the above statements and for later elaborations upon them lies in the titles of various servants, information as to the duties they actually performed, and the use of various departments or "offices" in accounts and their discernable actions as corporate wholes. The phenomenon of departmentalization is difficult to study, however, as it is one which is used on a fictional as well as a real level.

Two basic kinds of labour-division may be distinguished. Individuals may be given, in whole or in part, a specific set of duties and concerns. This we shall call specialization; it is largely a matter of individual action. Secondly, a more abstract body, called a department or more commonly an office, consisting of various peoples who worked with a common set of duties and responsibilities, seems sometimes to have been formed; which group acted as a single entity. This co-operative form of labour-division can be called departmentalization.

Several sorts of evidence for departmentalization and specialization exist. That which is most immediately obvious is the use of a department or office as an agent, rather than an individual, in purchases or the receipts of purchases recorded. However, an oversimplified application of this criterion can lead to error, as

mediaeval clerics often fictionalized the functions of existing departments and created entirely non-existent offices on paper, to facilitate accounting procedure. For instance, in the Stafford household accounts, "Pantry" is an important accounting division in daily books, under which bread, pastry, and grain expenditures are listed.¹ But "Pantry" designates a room off the hall or a dresser in the eating-chamber where not only bread but all foodstuffs were kept in readiness to be served. Stafford debt lists show us that grain was purchased by caterers —² servants whose titles and duties attach them to the kitchens, not the pantry. Pantry servants would have had to be, essentially, waiters. Stock accounts, moreover, show that grain was baked into bread in the bakehouse, not the pantry, and that some of that grain, when sent to the kitchen, was so sent by the bakehouse.³ The Pantry might serve bread at table, but they did not buy it or bake it as the accounts imply. Clearly, the way the accountant uses "Pantry" is an artificial construction, with little basis in fact. Individuals were less susceptible to this kind of manipulation; but one must not take the occupational titles given to servants, such as "valet of the larder," at face value without discovering if they have a practical basis in fact. Therefore, numerous other criteria must be used to determine whether departmentalization and specialization actually exists in any given case. One must be able to show that an office or individual has not only a title but special duties and responsibilities which support that title and which are unique to the department or official in question. We cannot, of course, expect anything like an absolute division of responsibilities. The household was not a modern company, but a very fluid organism which continually adapted itself as needed. Neverthe-

less, most households, to perform the tasks they were in existence for, had to have an organizational structure, albeit a flexible one.

The most helpful guides in determining labour division within a household are contemporary chequerrolls, or lists of householders, which give their position and wage. Chequerrolls provide a title for most servants, which can be fruitfully compared with other data about the householder in question to provide us with the practical meaning of his title, and they may divide servants into groups, which, as a contemporary method of practical division, can be used as a guide to determining departmental organization.

Duties performed by individual servants are a useful guide to practical specialization. If we find a bakehouse officer involved in buying wheat, a correlation between title and actual role is obvious; if we find him buying wheat and also making candles from tallow, we might conclude that he works in the bakehouse generally but is not restricted to it; he can occasionally work in related fields. If we find him only buying cattle, we might question his title and wonder if it is another form of accounting fiction.

Determining departmentalization is more difficult. We might, for instance, conclude that five servants called "grooms of the kitchen" constitute a department, especially if they can all be shown performing kitchen duties; but one must remember that a kitchen can be not only an abstract concept, but is also a physical place. Five servants with related duties might work in the same room, but may not necessarily have any corporate identity. One must look for evidence of the department itself, not separate people who look like part of an office, performing functions. For example, in the Stafford household in 1454-1455, on the stock account,⁴ we find

exchange of goods by tally and bill in the name of the departments. Wheat was sent to the Kitchen by the Bakery, and these two corporate bodies were capable of making records of that exchange. Not only did the Bakery and Kitchen function as departments, but they were capable of producing official documents attesting to actions for which they were responsible as an office.

As well as tallies, departments could be called upon to produce more extensive corporate records. Many examples of mediaeval kitchen accounts survive; these are records of the income and expenditure of a single department, compiled by its own clerk.⁵ In addition, the existence of a servant who seems by title, duties and wage to be a kind of sub-head -- a hall marshal or a head cook -- may also indicate some kind of corporate staff of which he is the head.

The degree of specialization and departmentalization can be a significant gauge of a household's size, status and date, and is the fundamental determinant of its organization. Of course, some form of particularism in households must exist in all circumstances, at all times. Such jobs and offices as baker and bakery, ostler and stable, require skills that not everyone can perform and share. Nor must one suppose that in the absence of specialization servants took over necessary duties on some kind of rota system. But we do not have to look back very far in time to find examples of the "general servant"; and they are easy enough to locate in the middle ages. The Stonor's gardener made candles;⁶ Reginald Seynesbury, a servant under Hugh Luttrell from 1405 to 1423, styled himself a purveyor and indeed bought foodstuffs, but also made candles, sold unused hides and fetched grain from demesne lands.⁷

He is a much different sort of servant from John Dallyng, in De Vere service 1441-1443, titled clerk of the household.⁸ Dallyng's sole domestic duty was serving as an assistant to the steward. One must also, of course, keep in mind that households and servants had to be versatile, ready and able to respond to the Lord's needs. Seynesbury could be said to have a general area of concentration; and Dallyng is in 1443 assigned temporarily to assist in the annual audit of De Vere lands.⁹ But one is clearly a general servant, while the other has, essentially, a specialized role to play. When discussing the organization of the mediaeval household, the existence of specialization and departmentalization does not so much need to be studied, as the extent of these phenomena, and their development.

To do so, each broad division of duties can be approached separately. These divisions are a way of dealing with different kinds of duties as they were variously fulfilled by mediaeval servants. These divisions work horizontally, as it were, and also vertically. That is, householders were organized both by the kind or nature of their work, and by its, and their, relative status. Since the latter "vertical" hierarchy pervades all "horizontal" labour-division, the nature and extent of the vertical should be discussed first. At the topmost level, the lord and his family were served by a number of chief servants, maior domi with power over, and responsibilities for and throughout, the whole household.

If we conceive of the mediaeval noble household as a neat pyramid of related duties and responsibilities, as some writers have done, we will be sure to be frustrated in any attempt to describe this pyramid in detail. If we looked, for instance, for a "mayor of the palace" figure standing at the top of that hypothetical

pyramid, we might find not one maior domus but as many as seven or more, each of whose duties and authority was different from household to household.

The steward or seneschal (both terms are used, even as late as 1500) is perhaps whom we think of as maior domus; and indeed the title is a ubiquitous one. The role is usually defined as that of one who helps determine, and sees enforced, household policy; he is in charge of discipline and order in the household, seeing that all runs smoothly -- a kind of general manager. Documents show this to be roughly true, but in different ways and degrees. In many households, for instance, the roles of steward and treasurer are combined (in some cases such a combination is given the alternate title "clerk of the household"): notably the De Vere riding household in 1284;¹⁰ the De Vere household 1431-2;¹¹ Ralph Lord Cromwell, 1450-1;¹² and all known periods in the William Cromwell, Luttrell and Stonor households. (The Luttrell steward was not only treasurer, but receiver-general as well, from 1428).¹³ In this case he received, dispensed and recorded all movements of household monies. In control of both wide-ranging authority and the wherewithall to wield it, he could easily become a surrogate master; especially in such as the Luttrell household, where the actual master was frequently in absentia.¹⁴ On the other hand, some stewards, notably the Staffords,¹⁵ served only as general overseers and organizers (while keeping accounts for odd general expenditures for the household with the help of a minor allowance), and had to share their power with several other well-paid, authoritative figures whose responsibilities, if less all-encompassing than his, perhaps had more concrete bases from which to exercise that authority.

The treasurer could be one of these officers. As long as the household was small and/or loosely organized, a single authority figure could handle both tasks of managing the household and also the books, taking the daily reckoning of all expenditures and drawing up the yearly general accounts; but a very large household, especially if its organizational system demanded departmental accounting, seems to have required a full-time treasurer. His chief charge of which we have evidence was the keeping of the daily book of expenses and the yearly household account. Several royal ordinances including the Liber Niger of Edward IV¹⁶ and the ordinances of Eltham of Henry VIII¹⁷ explain a system by which all accountable servants must report daily (sometimes twice daily) to the Treasurer, and something similar must have occurred in noble households. The Treasurer's job, however, entailed not only the accounting of but the handling of monies paid out for bills and to servants, either in prest (cash given to servants in anticipation of household expenses, for which they had to account) or in payment for expenses already incurred. Thus the treasurer had control of a stock or several stocks of money. The extent of his responsibility was largely determined by the size of this stock. The Luttrells channelled almost all their resources into the household, and he who acted as treasurer was accordingly in charge of all, not just household, expenses of his master.¹⁸ Ralph Lord Cromwell, on the other hand, kept most of his resources in the hands of his receivers, and his treasurer suffered from a constant lack of ready cash.¹⁹

The treasurer might not be the only householder with banking responsibilities; kitchen clerks sometimes had a small independent cash source, as did Guarderobe officials; the third Duke of

Buckingham eventually came to invest most of his monies in his "secret coffers" (originally a privy purse for the Lord's personal pocket money), which provided the treasurer with funds.²⁰ There might also be a Comptroller. The name (in Latin, Contrarotulator) means one who counter-rolls, that is produces an independent daily and yearly account, which acts as a check on the main account of the Treasurer in case of its loss or falsification. In theory it sounds a sensible precaution; in practice we find that, in the few cases where both roll and counterroll have survived, one is a mere copy of the other, even reproducing mathematical errors. Both Tout and Myers have posited that the office of treasurer of the royal household became a sinecure, by the late fifteenth-century, and the comptroller essentially became a deputy treasurer (hence the term's use in modern business for an official with general executive management responsibilities, but particularly as regards the formation of monetary policy and expenditure);²¹ one suspects something similar may have occasionally happened in some noble households. At the very least, the Controller could serve to alleviate some of the pressure on the Treasurer by assisting him in his duties.

The offices of Chancellor and Chamberlain appear in very few noble households; of our five, only the Staffords employed such men (they also occur in the accounts of Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare).²² Both offices as the Staffords use them would appear to be, essentially, sinecures. All five households used "chamberlain" in its simplest sense — that of a chamber servant of no especial dignity — only with the Staffords is it a grander title, as well, carrying the highest household wage.²³ It first

traceably occurs in 1400, in the accounts of the Stafford receivers-general, where the Chamberlain receives credit for acting as a purveyor and paymaster on a small scale;²⁴ but the office never occurs in household accounts. The names of those who held the office are all those of fairly important men: they had their own affairs to arrange. The exception is Henry Hextall in or before 1445; he was part of a family traditionally serving the Staffords. But we know that in and around 1445 he spent much of his time in Surrey, where he held a benefice (his two brothers were agents of the Duke in Dover and Bletchingly).²⁵ Hextall also held at least two other posts in the household at the same time.²⁶ Sir William Knivet, an important ally of the third Duke, was chamberlain from c.1514; though listed in the Chequerroll of 1517 as part of the riding household,²⁷ he cannot possibly have spent much time fulfilling his duties as such. An important landholder in Essex and Kent, he was heavily involved in local and national politics of his own accord.²⁸

The Chancellorship also seems to have functioned as a sinecure. The office appears only intermittently from 1500; it was first held by Sir Richard Sackville,²⁹ for whom the same argument as with Knivet applies. In any case the third Duke of Buckingham already had a private secretary, and several underclerks and clerks of the signet, to manage his chancerial needs. Robert Gilbert, who was chancellor from 1514 to 1521,³⁰ admittedly was active in the Duke's service; but not really as we would understand a chancellor to be. This former lecturer in sophistry at Oxford spent most of his time in London, raising loads for the Duke and acting as a kind of private emissary to the King and Cardinal Wolsey. His only vaguely chancerial function was that of delivering letters

of credence, which he treated as a basically ambassadorial function, delivering them as Edward's mouthpiece.³¹ He was essentially "extra-household" in function and played no discernable part in the household's organization and running, though like Knivet he was listed as one of the Stafford riding household in 1517.³²

All the five households used herein had private chapels, and employed chaplains, who, whether licensed or not to say masses therein, ordered the religious life of the household. We may not think of this as a source of any real definable authority; but in an age where the moral organization of life was an important part of its structural integrity, a chaplain could exercise considerable influence over the running of the household; he might indeed have experience in this as well. John Bacwell became chaplain to the Luttrells after at least eleven years' service as their steward, and for a short while combined the two offices.³³ Moreover, a chaplain was responsible for and had control over such instruments of worship as chalices, gospel books and vestments; all of considerable value; he might also be in charge of alms collected and dispensed.³³

Whatever his actual authority, the chaplain was accorded the same dignity as the other maior domi, being grouped with them on chequerrolls and receiving pay concomitant with theirs.³⁴

All these officers were, in a sense, surrogate lords. In the smallest households, masters and mistresses acted as their own stewards; several Stonor ladies, for instance, kept the accounts themselves.³⁵ If one demands a pinnacle to that pyramid, the master for whom the household exists is properly the choice to make. But in the case of households as big as the Staffords' and De Veres', of lords as politically active as Ralph Cromwell, as much absent as

Hugh Luttrell, or as devoted to pleasure as the 13th Earl of Oxford, the time and effort of running the household was best relegated to one or a combination of others. The maior domi, or, as the Stafford Chequerroll of 1517 puts it, the capitum officii, who are described above, all had responsibility for the entire household in one way or another; they had to keep the organization running smoothly and efficiently. The workers of whom these executives were in charge had more immediate and limited duties; if the maior domi constituted the hammer of a clock, the lower servants were the cogs on its wheels.

In some households, the maior domi formed the great extent of vertical specialization,³⁶ and labour-division by type of work also did not occur in great detail. In others, however, different kinds of non-administrative work were partially or wholly distinguished and divided amongst servants. In these households we can often see "sub-heads" -- servants who were essentially "middle-management". They did not usually determine policies or make major decisions, but their jobs, essentially administrative, were to oversee the actual carrying-out of household policy decided by the maior domi as it applied to the area of household duties over which they had charge. Because sub-heads themselves were specialized and because they change from household to household, it is better to reserve detailed discussion of them to the following section on "horizontal" labour-division. Many of their titles are familiar ones: Marshal of the Stables, Kitchen Clerk, Cook, Marshal of the Hall, etc. . .

Beneath these sub-heads, within each area of duty and indeed even among general servants, further distinctions of rank were made, which occur in most households, and apply to status more than

work-specialty. They are generosus, valettus, garcio, and pagettus/puerum; or, to use their English equivalents, which are quite common after c.1440: gentleman, valet or yeoman, groom, and page, boy or child. Common enough words; but their very common-ness then and now makes them difficult to define in themselves and in relation to each other.

Generosus is used as early as 1378,³⁷ if not before as well, occurring in all five of our households. Some historians have quibbled over the use of the word "gentleman" before 1485, claiming that it had no context in pre-Tudor Britain;³⁸ but it is difficult to translate generosus in any other way, especially as this is the contemporary translation used, as early as 1423.³⁹ We may, of course, not use "gentleman" in the same way as would a fifteenth-century man; but neither thus do we use "Knight" or even "noble". The definition of the term's mediaeval usage is thus essential. Generosi or gentlemen were the chief servants within any group of workers, below the sub-heads, in terms of rates of pay and in the status implied by their names. They tend to have relatively general titles such as "gentleman of the Kitchen" which do not much define their duties; more than other servants, we find them called upon to be versatile. George Cavendish,⁴⁰ for instance — Cardinal Wolsey's gentleman-usher of the chamber, who wrote his master's biography. — was called upon not only to monitor the Cardinal's visitors, but to carry messages, survey food, seek out lodgings, act as an emissary, and divers other functions; we see his fellow gentleman-ushers doing much the same. Generosus, then, implies responsibilities specific and general. We must ask three questions of it, which must be asked of all such rankings:

(1) What does it say about the holder's personal status? (2) Does it infer control over lower rankings? (3) Does it reflect any special duties or areas of responsibility?

Generosus as a social rank usually implied, at the least, that oneself or ones' father was a landowner who was not also an agricultural labourer, and who had tenants of his own. But "gentleman" had no legal definition in the way that "Knight" or "Duke" did; its conveyance upon a given person was largely a matter of custom and of social acceptance.⁴¹ Therefore the term was applied to any number of kinds of people; and we must not assume that a householder called "gentleman" was from an accepted land-owning family or was a social success personally; the nobles and knights who conveyed that acceptance, however, extended it to those serving their own kind in a presentable fashion. Of course, some gentleman-servants were gentlemen in the inheritable sense of the word — George Cavendish, for example, or Ambrose Skelton,⁴² the 3rd Duke of Buckingham's gentleman-usher. But unknown men like the 12th Earl of Oxford's John Brat are as common; and generosi also appear in the less celebrated households of Stonor and Luttrell, whom we may legitimately doubt to be gently born. Just as a lawyer or bishop of peasant origins was accepted as socially gentle, so some kinds of household service seems to have conferred gentility. But what sort of service was it that made a householder a generosus?

One is tempted to suggest that the generosus forms sort of a chain of command between sub-heads and valets. This is unlikely to be the case. For all his versatility and dependability one cannot call the generosus an administrator. None of the duties we have seen him perform involve management; he is a worker, albeit the

top rank, probably with little actual ability to command those in lower ranks. One may compare the situation to that of a modern History Department. A senior lecturer may receive higher pay and greater benefits than a mere lecturer; he may even be asked to sit on more committees; his seniority gives him a psychological superiority over a lecturer; but he would be unable to tell that lecturer what or how to teach. A generosus of the hall in fifteenth-century England might have had some kind of theoretical superiority over a valettus of the hall and receive better clothing and more food,⁴³ but both he and the valet would have taken their orders from the Hall Marshal. Therefore the gentleman's higher status must relate to a sphere of duties which are worth more pay than those of a valettus. We have already mentioned that the gentleman was expected to be a versatile and dependable servant, who might be called upon to carry a message which might not be entrusted to a valet. In a few cases his responsibility may be that of direct service to the upper classes, where knowledge of "gentle" behaviour was required. But does this explain the sole difference between a gentleman of and a valet of the kitchen? Might a more concrete difference in duties be suggested? While any evidence for such a difference is far too scanty to do more than guess, one might propose a hypothesis which, while not proven, is not contradicted by any known evidence. To go back to the analogy of the History Department, one might note that senior lecturers may have their pick of tutorial times, while junior lecturers will probably have the one at nine o'clock Monday morning. Similarly, one could suggest that our gentleman of the kitchen might be versatile and not highly specialized, but certain undesirable jobs he would probably never have to do, such as scrubbing floors, or

cleaning out the midden; while the valet may not have a choice. The apparent dichotomy between "gentleman" and "kitchens" to modern ears makes it difficult to picture just what this gentleman would do that is connected with his title — Nicholas Parvy, gentleman of the kitchen to the third Duke of Buckingham, did some purveying, but as with other gentlemen we know nothing about his more ordinary duties⁴⁴ — but we can form some conception of what he probably would not do; and his duties probably brought him into direct contact with the upper classes he was hired to serve.

Valetti and Garcioni present many of the same problems as the generosi. The rank of valettus, is in the 15th century translated either as valet or yeoman. From the Latin valeo, to be strong or healthy, the mediaeval valettus is recorded as early as 1201, and is variously translated in Baxter and Johnson's Mediaeval Latin Word-List⁴⁵ as "young man" (hence the middle and early modern "varlet", or youth), "esquire", "yeoman", "groom", or "servant". They fail to mention the English word "valet" (from old French valet, itself from Latin valeo) because it now has two specific meanings⁴⁶ — a servant in personal attendance upon his master; or (militarily) a footman in attendance on a horseman; whereas usually the mediaeval Latin valettus and its mediaeval Englished forms, valet and yeoman, are much more general terms. In household documents, however, the valet is clearly distinguished as part of some kind of group, above the groom, and in the royal household below an esquire.⁴⁷ The valet had a lower wage scale than the gentleman, but higher than the groom.⁴⁸ Beyond this it becomes difficult to define his position. As a householding term, "valet" does not apply to young men alone — some servants remained valets for twenty years.⁴⁹ As we have seen the

valet is differentiated from the grooms and esquires. A servant he clearly is, but that is hardly helpful. The modern meaning of valet is clearly inapplicable, as valets occur throughout the household, and as it is a rank rather than a unique job. The term "yeoman", however, is more useful, as it has fairly specific legal and social meanings. The word derives from the Old English zonge man, meaning young man (as in valet) or servant; or from gingra man, a vassal or a follower of a Prince.⁵⁰ In the twelfth-century Pseudo-Cnut de Foresta,⁵¹ "yeoman" is a synonym of laesepegenes, mediocres homines; who ranked between pegenes, liberales homines, and tunmen; or villani. In the later middle ages "yeoman" came to mean a man holding a small landed estate or freehold, especially one who cultivated his own land. The term in the later fifteenth-century became romanticized by such men as Sir John Fortescue,⁵² connoting sturdiness, loyalty, homeliness, simple honesty and a kind of basic Englishness, which aspects it still holds. "Yeoman" can also be used appositively with bread and ale, to signify the secondary grade of quality. Finally the term has some military uses, as a kind of footman in the army⁵³ or a bodyguard;⁵⁴ and was sometimes used instead of "pawn" in chess,⁵⁵ as well as being used extensively to describe members of households. All these diverse definitions carry one point. The yeoman is common, but free.

What we know of the duties of the valet, or yeoman, bear out this definition of mediocres homines — the middle-man, the secondary servant, the sturdy commoner. We find that a valet's or yeoman's title is often more specific (valet-chamberlains, valet-slaughterers, etc. as opposed to gentleman of the kitchen or of the larder — far more descriptive of the valet's actual job), and that he is less likely than a gentleman in his department to be used for extra-

household business. On the other hand, his position usually required both responsibility and skill; we find him in charge of a stable's grain-stock directly under the Marshal; he waits at secondary tables in hall, changes the Lord's bed, slaughters animals for consumption. He probably did not, however, have to scrub down the larder after the kill or wash the dishes after serving them. These more menial, less skilled positions may have been left to the groom.

The Latin garcio, and its fifteenth-century English equivalent "groom", are more difficult to define. In the household we know they ranked in wages below yeomen, and are indeed the lowest position known, with the possible exception of certain child-servants. Of course, garcio can also mean boy, as well as groom, and servant generally; but most household records distinguish between garcioni — some of whom held this position for many years and were married as well⁵⁶ — and pueri or pagetti. The etymology of the English "groom" is uncertain, through either Old English or Old French. Once again, the earliest meaning seems to have been a male child, but by at least 1330 also meant a low-born adult male, often used as the antonym of a noble, or adjectivally, for "foolish" or "lower-class".⁵⁷ Our modern connection of the word with horses primarily, and its gerund, "grooming", with care for the person, dates only to the seventeenth-century; in the middle ages "groom" and garcio had a much more general application.⁵⁸

The crucial sense of the word, however, seems to lie in its intimation of low birth and status. The difficulty of tracing most grooms whose names we know may in itself exhibit their social obscurity. We seldom find household grooms assigned responsibilities outside the bounds of their job descriptions. What we do

know of their duties confirms our impression of meniality. Stable grooms, for instance, do the actual washing and brushing of the horses, the cleaning of the stalls, the filling of the mangers. About the only servants we might rank lower than the groom are the pagetti and pueri — the henchmen, pages, and child-servants in the household. They received after all a wage which ranged from a pittance of 6s8d per annum to nothing at all apart from their keep.⁵⁹ However, one must make clear several distinctions about child-servants which show that theirs is a rank apart, parallel to but not really one with the adult structure of the household.

"Henchman" (Old English henx - or haunch-man, one who stands by the side of the master) generally refers, in the fifteenth-century, to well-born children put out to service in an aristocratic family for the sake of their military, social, and academic education, and often also as a sign of a client-master relationship between the child's family and his lord's.⁶⁰ Such service might allow a child to create, very early in life, ties with his peers and superiors of several generations which might later prove useful — the public school is an obvious modern parallel. His duties were mild and often ceremonial, such as holding the wash-basin at table; he was often given the same number of personal lackies as a gentleman-servant.⁶¹ True, his wages, if they existed at all, were nominal; but he also received an education, and he was hardly employed or employable in the strict sense of the word. Pagetti might have been used the most often to describe these "noble babes" in Latin texts, but pueri is used interchangeably with it.

Pagetti and pueri, perhaps the latter more frequently, were also used to describe a quite different sort of child-servant. From

uninfluential, common and even villein families, household boys, as we shall call them, were primarily in the household to work; and oftenest their goal was a permanent household position, rather than an aristocratic career. Many of the higher household servants had their own youthful servitors; children often served with the lady of the household, fetching for her and doing simple tasks; we find them turning the spit in the kitchen and dusting nightly in the pantry. They were perhaps commonest in the kitchen, and also the bakery.⁶² But though their wages were low and their tasks menial, we cannot really call them lower than grooms in rank, except in the sense that all children would tend to be less capable of controlling their lives, of performing skilled tasks, of holding responsibility, than any adults. While primarily workers, they also received training in various householding skills; their wages were low for adults, but as children they had little expenditure or monetary responsibilities in any case. Finally, as adults, they could become gentlemen, valets and grooms of the household.⁶³ Clearly the fact of their childhood puts them on a different scale from adult householders; they are properly ranked separately, with and beneath the henchmen.

Finally, and unfortunately to further confuse the issue, one must caution that all these ranks, while constant in themselves, did not fix or define individuals. While we have perhaps noted a tendency in some ranks for the holder to come of a related social class, there is no necessary connection. Several examples of grooms being valets can be found, and of child-servants, the sons of valets, becoming household gentlemen or even, in time, armigeri in their own right.⁶⁴ The household could be a signal way of social and material

advancement; the ranks within it were, as we have seen, a matter of relative and rather loosely defined status, but imposed no ultimate restrictions on the servant who was named within them.

The hierarchy of servants was one framework around which a mediaeval household organized itself. In some cases, it was the sole structure. But in many households some form of labour-division also occurred, not by the status or responsibility of various duties, but a division by kind or type. Rather than a contemporary concept of labour-division, the areas of work described here are a way of defining different types of work handled by servants in all mediaeval households. Mediaeval labour-divisions, where they exist, are concomitant with the different work-areas used here. Since mediaeval household organization varies considerably this plan makes it easier to talk about households in general, than any individual mediaeval scheme. For instance, the Luttrell household had no firm divisions; but it did have to fulfil the various types of duty described below; and those of its servants with titles and some of those without probably worked, largely, within the bounds of one of these divisions. The Stafford household does show departmentalization, often in much finer degrees than the divisions shown here, but these departments are ordered one after the other in Stafford Chequerrolls in much the same progression used below, and their duties do not cross the broad divisions we shall employ. Mediaeval householders would have understood our usage, even if these terms were not always the ones they used. Charles C. Johnson follows a similar policy with Constitutio Domus Regis, adding sub-headings to the text which are his own, but which clearly are operable in the organization of the manuscript. ⁶⁵

The part of the household which probably has been described most,

and which figures most prominently in popular histories, is what we would call "below-stairs", consisting of those servants who performed duties necessary to the preparation of the various services and entertainments provided for the noble master, his guests and family. They shall herein be called "preparatory" servants, departments and duties. These were the "stage-hands" rather than the performers, who ideally were never to be seen — the cooks, cleaners, replenishers of candles, spreaders of rushes, etc. Writers like John Cordy Jeafferson and F.J. Furnivall⁶⁶ have been particularly fascinated by the making of food from strange beasts in unbelievable quantities. However, no author has paid much non-fictional attention to the problem of determining how these elaborate concoctions were turned out in organizational terms, surely almost as amazing and interesting a feat as the fetes themselves. Luckily, household accounts are much concerned with the expenses of such duties — in particular those concerning food — in what was purchased, where, and by whom; and when it was actually used; so that a great deal of information can be gleaned about the method of their performance. The different "departments" named in household accounts in connection with preparatory services — Kitchen, Cellar, Scullery, etc. — are for the most part the names of actual rooms in the service quarters of a great household's physical base. Of these, the Kitchen is the central chamber and the central department from which these services all emanated; it is common to all households. As posited previously, the cook was in all likelihood one of the first specialized servants, due to the skills required for the job. He, too, appears in all households. Apart from him, however, infinite variety reigns, from household to household, year to year, season to season.

One major guideline that can be discerned in an attempt to classify how households handled preparatory duties is the presence or absence of a kitchen clerk. He was in charge of accounting for all buyings of foodstuffs and sometimes of spices in the household; he sometimes had an independent, if small, treasury upon which to draw for these expenses. We must be careful, however, not to attribute to him authority beyond his position. One tends to think that the control of cash means power; but this is not necessarily always the case. It is unlikely that the kitchen clerk determined purveying policy — the cook and the steward are more likely to have done so — and though he may have been able to affect it somewhat by his hold on the funds, his function is mainly that of book-keeper, not executive. If we are to look for an authoritative head of preparatory activities below the steward, we must look elsewhere. Nevertheless, the presence of the kitchen clerk does indicate some form of departmentalization and organizational autonomy. Not surprisingly, he appears most frequently in households of a complex nature, in which the burden of organizing numerous duties and individuals had necessarily to be distributed more widely.

The Luttrells, Stonors, and William Cromwell employed no kitchen clerk. In their households the cook alone stands out. The Luttrells employed a cook, and 4 boy-labourers de coquine; also one puer for the bakehouse.⁶⁷ Probably some of the undifferentiated servants also had preparatory duties. William and Margaret Cromwell employed a cook, a combined baker and butler, a baker's servant, and several kitchen pages. Of the two former men, the cook received the greater wages (26s 8d per annum over 20s per annum). One perhaps might also include among the Cromwellian "preparatory" servants some of their

agricultural workers, especially those who worked on the demesne as shepherds and pig-watchers. They were sometimes paid household as well as agricultural wages, and at least some of the animals they cared for were probably household stock — a larder on the hoof.⁶⁸

By the fifteenth-century Ralph Cromwell, Joan Radcliffe, the Staffords, and the De Veres employed kitchen clerks; and we find with them a larger and better-defined kitchen staff, as well as other preparatory "departments". Ralph employed a large number of cooks and bakers, perhaps ruled over by the chief cook, who again received a higher wage than the chief baker; and as well as boys of the kitchen and bakery, there were adult servants, valets, in these rooms. Ralph also employed a wine-cellarer, and several "cators" or purveyors who did the actual buying of foodstuffs. The kitchen clerk accounted for all but the wine-cellarer. We know that some of the titular specialization is also practically expressed; the purveyors do indeed do most, though not all, of the catering. The wine-cellarer must have accounted separately as only a summary of his yearly expense is entered at the end of the day-book;⁶⁹ indeed Myatt-Price mentions a wine-cellarers' account for Ralph Cromwell, which appears to have been lost.⁷⁰ He was a specialized servant, and many have represented a department.

Preparatory Departmentalization under the Staffords and De Veres was more complex. The De Veres in 1284 employed only a cook, that we know of, in their small riding household; but living permanently at Castle Hedingham and other homes were bakers, cellarers, brewers, slaughterers, servants de coquine and herdsmen.⁷¹ By 1431 at least, the 12th Earl of Oxford employed a kitchen clerk, who accounted for the various cooks, purveyors, bakers, the slaughterer, and numerous

adults and boys de coquine.⁷² Ale and wine were accounted separately. After his return to England and power in 1485, the 13th Earl re-established a household along the lines of his father's, but of greater size and complexity. His accounts,⁷³ and his will of 1513,⁷⁴ speak of the offices of Larder and Maltery. The larder continued to account with the kitchen, and none of its known members received wages on a scale commensurate with the kitchen clerk or head cook; we could perhaps call it a sub-department, as a room which had a specific group of servants working regularly in it; but the evidence suggests that their organizational thrust and corporate identity was not independent of the kitchen. However, the Earl brewed a great deal of ale and beer, for household consumption, which is not accounted with the kitchen; the maltery perhaps had some autonomy, or was a sub-department of the cellars.

The Stafford accountant departmentalized his accounts in great detail; and some of those many offices show signs of being real departments of preparatory duty. Under the 1st Duke of Buckingham, six such offices appear to have real corporate identity: the Catery, Bakery, Avenary, Cellar, Kitchen and Brewery. All have recognizable sub-heads receiving a rate of pay commensurate with that rank; and all exchanged tallies between themselves and other areas of the household, using the office names as the agents.⁷⁵

The third Duke's preparatory staff on paper were even more rigidly organized. In addition to those above, a Scullery, Saucery, Slaughterhouse and Pastillaria are used by the accountant.⁷⁶ However, none can be shown to truly act as a department. They may have had some identity as a room or a part of a room; but they accounted with the kitchen (and the pastillaria with the bakehouse) fully; the

servants assigned with their names do not include any highly ranking members. No evidence of corporate identity is apparent. The Scullery, Saucery, Slaughterhouse and Pastillaria must have been largely, accounting fictions. The household of Henry Lord Stafford and Margaret Beaufort play similar tricks, using almost all the special offices used by the 3rd Duke and his great-grandfather, but almost wholly as accounting fictions; they did not even have a kitchen clerk.⁷⁷

Aside from food preparation, we may ask about other "backstage" tasks necessary to the smooth running of a household. Who spread the rushes, disposed of garbage, scrubbed floors, cleaned the great hall? One must imagine that those "general servants" with no titles and probably the grooms in their various areas of the house, were employed in these jobs; as no servants with these kinds of job descriptions have left records. However, other less menial chores of a preparatory nature, like making torches and candles; preparing the hides of slaughtered animals; clarifying fat for household lamps; buying, making and repairing pans, pots and dishes; — much of this can be found being done in the kitchen and its related departments. The Luttrells' cook, for instance, made candles from the fat and the dishes from the hide of animals slaughtered for household consumption.⁷⁸ In some rather small households, however, these kinds of jobs were distributed more widely; in 1475, the Stonors' gardener also made candles.⁷⁹

Since the different preparatory departments, when they actually existed, performed duties which were often closely connected, they probably required some co-ordination of effort. In smaller households such as those of the Stonors and Luttrells, where there were merely the kitchen servants, probably under the steward directly, such

coordination could not have been a great difficulty; but in larger households where some degree of departmentalization had taken place, especially when it went beyond the separation of the kitchen as an office, correlation had to be achieved. Departmentalization may have distributed the work load and assigned it more definitely, but could create its own problems such as lack of communication and coordination. Several factors may have helped to relieve this problem. Firstly, the Cook, in many cases the lynch-pin of preparations in the household, usually can be found to have received the highest wages, bar the clerk, in this area of the household; and he may have had authority to match. As probable determiner of food policy, he would have had a natural right to oversee all food-preparing departments. We also know that the clerk of the kitchen accounted for many departments, even some of those with their own corporate identity; he also could have served as a liaison. Records of tallies also show us that departments had ways of exchanging goods among themselves. Finally, we must be careful not to nail down servants by their titles. These "departments" were often all rooms or even parts of one room, all in close physical proximity to each other; and it is highly likely that menials — titled or untitled — and even higher servants could help out in departments other than their own, at least within a general area of work. A kitchen valet might be specialized in various kitchen work, but he need not have been totally restricted to its environs.

In some ways all servants perform preparatory duties. But in the kitchens, scullery, etc. these duties are paramount, while in other labour-divisions presentation is the main type of service provided. Waiting service is the most visible of "presentation"

duties. Waiting service may be defined as those duties involving public attendance on the lord and his guests; primarily this entails the service of food, but also includes holding the wash-basin, incidental fetching and carrying, public entertainment, and whatever else demanded by the master when in his hall.

The rooms chiefly involved in waiting service are the great hall and other dining or living chambers; the Pantry; and the Buttery. The Pantry and Buttery were usually small chambers near the main hall;⁸⁰ the former was the room in which bread and foodstuffs were laid out, ready to be served for meals, and probably where such things as bread baskets, serving bowls, and linens were kept. The Buttery performed the same function for the service of ale and wine. A classic lay-out of these chambers can be seen at Haddon Hall, near Bakewell, Derbyshire, the original home of the Vernons.⁸¹ Pantry and Buttery are small rooms flanking a corridor off the lower end of the old hall, which leads in turn to the kitchens, larder and other preparatory rooms. The old solar, which by the fifteenth-century served as the private dining chamber, opened off the upper end of the same hall (which, incidentally, also includes a musician's gallery over the lower end).

Numerous accounts use Aula et Camera, Panetria, and Buttelaria as departments; but in an obviously fictional manner. The use of the pantry in this way has been discussed earlier; much the same could be repeated for the buttery. Under "hall and chamber" one consistently finds only entries for coal, wood and other fuels. The joining of these two rooms as one department seems unusual and does not fit with our knowledge of the household; this was not the only "department" which used fuel; nor does it appear to have bought

or accounted for fuel. Unfortunately, the waiting services were not such as to require the purchase of a great deal of stuff, or regularly; so that accounts tell us less about them than about preparation services. Nevertheless chequerrolls and wage-lists add to the accounts, and give us some idea of how these services were organized.

Waiting service required little in the way of special ability. Some people are better, of course, at carving turkeys than others; but the serving of meals is not really a skilled job. In our society few restaurants require much training; in mediaeval England children frequently performed it. Therefore, though in a lord's eyes a necessity, it was not a specialized function, such as cooking, which always required labour-division. Indeed, waiting service lent itself admirably to the use of generalized servants, if the whole household ate together; each could take his turn while the others ate.⁸³ Other waiting duties such as fetching, and holding the basin, clearly needed little skill. Thus in the households of Luttrell, Stonor, the De Veres in 1284, William Cromwell and the Henries Lords Stafford, we can detect no trace of servants who specialized in waiting service, and numbers with no titles. The remaining Staffords and De Veres, however, had at least some specialization within this labour-division, and also perhaps departmentalization.

Just as the kitchen clerk can serve by his presence or absence as an indicator of the complexity of the preparatory staff, so does the Marshal of the Hall for the waiting services. We are used to thinking of a marshal as a stable servant, and indeed this is its original meaning, which continued simultaneously with the use of the "marshal" for a hall servant. The transference of titles

probably occurred because of the stable marshal's quasi-military role, especially in its disciplinarian rights. The Marshal of the Hall is in charge of discipline kept and order observed in the hall, from the prevention of fist fights to the proper seating of guests by rank, as well as the oversight of waiting service. In smaller households the steward probably took care of this; in large households he would have required a deputy — hence the Hall Marshal. He appears in the royal household from 1318.⁸⁴

The 1st Duke of Buckingham employed a Hall Marshal by 1452; also at least two ushers.⁸⁵ His widow Anne also employed two ushers;⁸⁶ the 3rd Duke had three valet ushers.⁸⁷ The 13th Earl of Oxford also increased and diversified his ushers from his father's two, to approximately six, yeomen and gentlemen.⁸⁸ An usher, as the name implies, made sure that the seating arrangements were followed, that order was preserved (they could on occasion serve as bouncers) and that all were served their meal. They may also have served as waiters. The increasingly large number fed daily and the many banquets given in the households at Hedingham and Thornbury throughout the fifteenth-century would have required, not only more waiters, but more deputies of the marshal to make sure all went smoothly.

Other hall servants besides these overseers performed the actual tasks required in the hall. Pantry and Buttery servants (including Butlers) worked in their respective chambers, placing the foods in their proper serving-dishes, uncorking the bottles, plugging kegs; they also acted as waiters. The De Veres and Staffords of the early fifteenth-century also had servants del ewery; by the time of the 13th Earl and 3rd Duke several more ewery servants appear.⁸⁹ The ewery was not a place but a thing: a basin or "ewer"

filled with water which was carried around, with towels, to the lord and his guests, for them to wash their hands during and after the meal. The term "ewery" was applied at times for the dresser whereon these basins were kept. In noble households this ewery — probably a kind of dry sink — and the dresser or sideboard for serving dishes, were probably one and the same in many halls. Hence John Russell's speaking of the Servants of the Ewery as if they were waiters.⁹⁰ This use of the term also occurs in the royal household, and may account for the proliferation of servants del ewery in the fifteenth-century.

The Chequerroll of the 3rd Duke of Buckingham for 1517 provides us with the titles and names of more waiters, some of whom specialized further within this role.⁹¹ It lists three cupbearers, three carvers, three sewers, and three sewers for the body. "Sewer" is a middle English term for waiter; sewers for the body were thus the Duke's and Duchess's personal waiters. One general cupbearer was charged solely with the service of wine and ale; the other two waited upon the Lord and Lady alone. The same was true of the Carvers. As has been suggested, carving was the one aspect of waiting service which might require special skills; in the middle ages it was something of an art, with a set of procedure for each animal complete with an expert's jargon, and involved enough time and training to require specialization. One might call to mind the carving skills of Tristan in the Tristan and Isolde legends. Several text-books on carving from this period survive, including one within John Russell's Boke of Nurture.⁹²

Though perhaps not attendants in the strict sense of the term, entertainers provided publicly performed theatrical and musical

services for their master, usually in the hall, and had therefore to be in some sense under the supervision of the hall marshal. Of course, wandering musicians, local singers and independent players were hired to perform on special occasions, not only by the Staffords and De Veres, but by the Luttrells and Stonors. But these men were not a part of the household. From the 1430's, however, we find entertainers employed as live-in householders at both Thornbury and Hedingham. In 1430 the 12th Earl kept a minstrel and a trumpeter; the 13th Earl of Oxford employed not only musicians but a "disguiser", probably something like the Royal Master of the Revels. The third Duke of Buckingham is the first recorded Stafford to have such servants; he hired two minstrels, and a pursuivant who may, rather like John XIII's disguiser, have served as an adviser to the performances beloved by the Duke.⁹³

Numerous servants were employed in waiting service in large households, working under the aegis of a marshal; did they form a department or departments? The paucity of accounting information concerning them makes this question difficult; we have little unambiguous evidence of corporate identity. The status of the marshal is probably the clearest sign of a kind of departmental division. Certainly the marshal, ushers and such people as the sewers and cupbearers must have acted as a unit if they were to create any orderliness and efficiency in the hall. But the control of the marshal over minstrels, butlers and pantlers is less certain; the two latter might even be said to be attached to the kitchens. It is equally difficult to call Pantry and Buttery separate departments; their members are few (the 3rd Duke of Buckingham employed three men in each)⁹⁴ and

their wages low, nor does any discernable sub-head exist within them. In any case the entries detailing the purveyance of waiting-service goods such as linen napkins, trestles, trays, etc. are never registered in the name of the Hall or Pantry or Buttery departments. If the hall servants formed what looks like an internal sense of identity and order independent of the maior domi, it has left little positive trace.

As well as public attendance, the nobility demanded of their households personal private service. This could include guarding the chamber, making beds, caring for clothes, what we would call valeting, or simple companionship. Personal servants worked in the private chambers of the household — before 1420, the nursery and solar; as the fifteenth-century progressed, a whole complex of rooms housing lord, lady and their children in bed chambers, school rooms and living areas.⁹⁵ While few of the needs fulfilled by personal service demanded much in the way of skills or training, lords and ladies were likely to be highly selective concerning whom they would allow to perform personal chores in such close proximity to their persons. Those admitted to these inner recesses were also called upon more often to carry out extra-household tasks which a master was only willing to trust to someone he knew well. The 3rd Duke of Buckingham for instance used his yeoman barber to convey messages.⁹⁶ Thus one seldom finds a household without specific chamber servants; but their duties within that realm were seldom defined, actually or by title.

Personal or Chamber service tended to be idiosyncratic, subjective, varying more widely than other services from household to household, depending on the lord's personal tastes and requirements. One finds little real correlation with household size, unlike in other

labour-divisions. Margaret, wife of William Cromwell, had seven personal servants;⁹⁷ William, two;⁹⁸ their son, Robert, two⁹⁹ — this in a household which numbered not much more than twenty. The titles given these servants also vary considerably and their duties are hard to interpret. Many are called merely by the Latin cameraria/ius, or ancille — "chamber-servant", "chamberlain", "chamberer", or "maid" in English. The titles place them but do not define their duties; "maid" means only a feminine servant. Others are entitled generose; puer, puella — gentlewoman, boy, girl — which tell us little about their duties, whatever we learn of their status. Furthermore, no organizational pattern linking households is discernable. Hall Marshal, ushers, sewers and cupbearers appear in many large households in related quantities; but no similar paradigm appears among personal servants. A close look at several different arrangements, therefore, is necessary to understand the organizational principles behind personal service.

We have already mentioned Margaret Cromwell's bevy of personal servants. Indeed one often finds that women employed more personal servants than men. Margaret Beaufort in a household of thirty-two had six gentlewomen.¹⁰⁰ Elizabeth Stonor had at least two personal boy-servants, a gentlewoman and a chambermaid;¹⁰¹ but none are recorded for William her husband. Many of these, especially the generose, appear to have been as much companions as servants; we know little of any other duties. Mistress Stonor's gentlewoman, however, also served as her amanuensis.¹⁰²

Our lack of information about chamberers for masters may be due to the constant movement in which people like Hugh Luttrell and William Cromwell were engaged; they may have had others overseas, or again, as in any riding house, they employed only the most

necessary servants to accompany them. Hugh Luttrell had only one man whose name has survived, "Lytelwill", who carried messages, money and supplies at times between Dunster and Bordeaux.¹⁰³ William Cromwell had two personal servants who valeted him, carried messages, bought his personal oddments and performed various other tasks.¹⁰⁴

The personal servants of the 12th Earl and Countess of Oxford number not more than those found in the smaller households above. Two gentlewomen and a chamberer for the Countess, and three valets for the Earl, sufficed.¹⁰⁵ The 13th Earl employed scarcely more — all valets of the chamber, and one boy-servant.¹⁰⁶ His nephew John (later the 19th Earl of Oxford), when living with his uncle in the 1490's, had his own valet, chamberer, and tutor.¹⁰⁷

Of our five householding families, the Staffords probably had the most elaborate system of personal attendants. The first Duke employed only several female chambers and a nursemaid, that we know of;¹⁰⁸ but his great-grandson the 3rd Duke employed in 1517 forty-six personal attendants — though some of these may have been for the "exterior chamber" or private dining-room.¹⁰⁹ These included three gentleman-ushers and five valet-ushers, probably employed (like George Cavendish, Cardinal Wolsey's usher, and those described in the Northumberland Household Book¹¹⁰) to guard the chamber, admitting, ejecting and controlling visitors thereunto; and to act as "managers" of chamber activity and decorum. There were also fourteen valets and seven grooms of the chamber (one of which valets was a barber); and five henchmen. The Duchess had four of her own servants — three gentlewomen and a chamberer. Henry Lord Stafford, the heir, had a master, schoolmaster, valet, chamberer and groom of robes to himself, and his four sisters in the nursery had a female "master", two gentlewomen, and a chamberer. Though our

knowledge of the Stafford servants is drawn from two fair-copy Chequerrolls, so that we are bound to have more information about their household than about others, it would still seem that they employed an exceptionally high number of personal servants even when compared with the De Veres. We can even detect some sense of interior order among the main group of chamberers, with their executive staff of ushers. In addition, some of these Stafford personal servants have titles which indicate greater specialization — the ushers; the barber, Lord Stafford's schoolmaster and groom of robes. But once again the majority hold titles which tell us their location and status, rather than much about what they are hired to do; and we actually find them performing many varied tasks.

Two exceptions to the general lack of specialization in chamber service may be mentioned: the secretary, and the guarderober. Elizabeth Stonor's gentlewoman who also acted as an amanuensis has been discussed; other lords had servants employed specifically for this task: Robert Radcliffe had a personal clerk,¹¹¹ and both the Earls of Oxford and Dukes of Stafford had secretaries.¹¹² These were employed for both personal and "business" correspondence, and to deal with the growing bureaucracy of their master's public administrative posts and with his charters, indentures and other legal papers. The 3rd Duke of Buckingham also employed a clerk of the signet, perhaps in connection with such secretarial work which required a seal. But we find secretaries doing many other things, from purveying items to riding round the master's estates; versatility was expected of them. We frequently find secretaries acting as accountants for a privy purse.

As was discussed in an earlier chapter, nearly all servants must have kept some kind of account, of the monies with which they were

entrusted and for which they would have to reckon. Chamber servants in particular were often in charge of small amounts of cash; mediaeval masters did not care to carry cash on their persons overmuch it seems, and accompanying servants were ordered to pay even the smallest expenses he might incur: alms, gambling debts, regarda, etc.¹¹³ In some cases, however, a lord might set up a more formal privy purse, a small treasury for his personal use, quite independent of the household's income, both physically and on paper. These private coffers provided the lord with ready cash and also gave him more personal control over at least part of his income. Such a treasury could be small or great. Those of William Stonor seldom registered receipts totalling more than £25 a year and were accounted for by himself and another chamber servant;¹¹⁴ while the privy coffers of the 3rd Duke of Buckingham had two physical treasuries, in Thornbury and in London, serving as administrative centres for the Duke's entire finances. They were so busy with his greater wealth that he had a separate "privy privy-purse" for his personal expenses.¹¹⁵ Secretaries were sometimes called upon to be treasurers for such a private cash-box; but the guarderober was the most frequently used privy treasurer.

A "guarderober" or "wardrober" was an official in charge of an object similar to that wooden box in the corner of a modern bedroom, or a small closet serving the same purpose — a place in which to store clothes — in the literal and original sense of the title. In the middle ages this apparel might be part of a master's fortune, and a considerable investment. Just as the King turned to his servant, already responsible for much wealth in kind, and made of a closet a great accounting department,¹¹⁶ so aristocrats such as the Luttrells¹¹⁷ sometimes used their wardrobers as treasurers.

In some cases, however, the guarderobe was separate from the privy purse, as yet a third treasury within the household, which cared only for bulk items of value — not only the lord's personal clothes and jewels, but furniture, plate, bolts of cloth, ornaments, candles, tapestries, spice, paper and other items used in the household. In this case the guarderobe became a somewhat schizophrenic organization, including wardrobers of beds and robes who were actually the lord's chamber-servants, and treasurers and accountants in charge of household, personal and investment goods. The 3rd Stafford Duke ameliorated the situation somewhat by keeping an extra-household guarderobe in London.¹¹⁸ But in general the clerk of the wardrobe had a difficult job. He might have departmental independence as an accounting agency, with his own small staff, but many others who were connected with his department were chiefly chamber servants rather than guarderobers alone. His funds often came from the receivers or the lord direct, so that he was financially independent of the maior domi; yet he was the custodian of household goods, too, which made him in some ways accountable to them. In the final analysis the guarderobe can be depicted as only partially an independent department in noble households; in many ways it is still a part of the chamber organization.

The proximity of chamber-servants to the master explains many apparent anomalies: the general sameness of their numbers regardless of size of household; specialization frequent by general labour-division as personal servants, but seldom beyond that wide category; and the extreme diversity of chamber-organizations from household to household. We must remember that these chamber servants, though primarily domestics, were often the most trusted of the lord's servants because of their proximity to him. We frequently find them

carrying messages, purveying food and wines, and buying personal items for him as well as making his bed. Thus they were not likely to be highly specialized, nor is a pattern to be seen between noble households' chambers, as the numbers and organization of personal servants were particularly susceptible to the Lord's own needs and idiosyncracies. One also must remember of the Lord that there was only one of him; he could only use so many personal servants. Chambers like the 3rd Stafford Duke's are by far the exception.

The usual evidence for departmentalization is absent for the chamber. It is not used by accountants except in a fictional sense; no separate accounts for it exist; as we have seen, no single obvious servant sub-head is in existence. But in a sense chamber servants were set apart quite definitely from others by their proximity to the master, who himself superseded a servant leader; through the Lord chamber servants were united, and unity is, after all, the essence of departmentalization.¹¹⁹

The chapel is another part of household organization where we may find quite elaborate arrangements even in relatively small households. One can state almost categorically that every noble and gentle had a chapel and at the least one chaplain. One must not rely on licenses to say mass in these chapels as a gauge of private worship; none can be traced or perhaps never existed for the Luttrells, who maintained not one, but two chapels;¹²⁰ the Stonors celebrated a wedding mass in their chapel eighteen years before a licence was granted them.¹²¹

Chapels varied considerably in size and chape. The Stonors' chapel, probably built around 1250, is as large as a mediaeval parish church, measuring fifty-seven feet long by nineteen feet wide, as large as their great hall.¹²² The upper chapel at Dunster, alternately,

was lodged in a tower of the Norman keep and measured approximately ten feet square.¹²³ Another, surprisingly small Norman chapel can be observed at Castle Rising, in Norfolk, a royal castle.¹²⁴ Multiple chapels, while less common, are like twins not unusual. We have mentioned those of the Luttrells. In the 1490's the 13th Earl of Oxford kept up at least three at Castle Hedingham: a tiny private one in the Earl's "closet"; one in the old Norman keep; and a later, freestanding church in the inner courtyard.¹²⁵ Normally the newer chapel is considerably roomier and was probably constructed to provide more room for an expanding household as well as for grandeur; but the older chapel was still used, as we find in accounts entries of plate, linen, candles, bread and wine purchased for both.¹²⁶

Considerable variation in the staff which ran the chapel occurs. We never find more than one chaplain at Dunster, while the Stonors supported, in 1349, six, though we do not know if all of these were priests.¹²⁷ Of course, many clerics besides the chaplain lived in the household, such as kitchen clerks, secretaries usually, the Stafford's clerk of the signet, etc.; and sometimes stewards and treasurers were in minor orders at least. But unless they were priests these other clerks did not require the use of the chapel more than other servants, or enter into its organization. In some households, however, chaplains were in charge of other staff hired specifically to work in the chapel: priests, minor clergy, singers and sacristans.

We have already mentioned that the Stonors had six priests in 1349; throughout the fifteenth-century we never find them with less than three. Ralph Cromwell also employed at least three.¹²⁸ Though we imagine that they must have had some sort of rota or calendar system as to who would say mass when (at Stonor however at least three altars

stood, so they could easily concelebrate), their titles — bare "chaplain" — indicate no real specialization in this matter, as we will see in other households. But then chaplains were expected to be extremely versatile; as mentioned above the Luttrells' John Bacwell doubled as steward and treasurer for a time, and William Cromwell's "dominus" John de Kyghley purveyed, escorted Cromwell's wife, helped with auditing of estate accounts and transported money between France and Tydd.¹²⁹ A chaplain's versatility appears lessened when he was in charge of an actual staff. In the 1500's the 5th Duke of Northumberland's chaplain presided over a Ladymass priest, two "yeoman-pistelers" (epistle readers) and a sub-chaplain;¹³⁰ the 3rd Stafford Duke's Dean of Chaplen was seldom called to extraneous duties, busy as he was with his sub-chaplain, choir and sacristans.¹³¹

One or more sacristans were frequently employed as custodians of the chapel goods, which were valuable items — not only silver and gilt plate and statuary, but fine linens, silk vestments and illuminated books, all of which required both care and guarding. Choirs, however, were generally restricted to the greater baronage, and are rare before 1440. Those of Percy,¹³² Stafford¹³³ and De Vere¹³⁴ were probably the most elaborate of the later fifteenth-century, rivalling and probably immitating the King's; both gentleman-singers and boys (who might also serve as pages) — the 3rd Duke of Buckingham had over twelve of the latter — as well as a singing-master to train and conduct them.

Obviously, service of the chapel required particular servants; in some households, as we have seen, priests and clerics might concentrate on certain types of worship or, in the case of the chaplain, administration. These "specialists" also worked as a department. The presence of an easily recognizable servant head who was needed to

correlate the liturgy shows this. We also find chapel servants keeping accounts, preparing inventories and making purchases as a corporate office, and that they are grouped as a body on Chequerrolls.¹³⁵ The nature of the chapel, its makeup and the special skills of its staff, even when they were all but chaplains; its expensive purchases and its particular responsibilities made departmentalization necessary and indeed inevitable in almost all households.¹³⁶

Charles C. Johnson, in his edition of Constitutio Domus Regis, refers to those servants who are hunters, horsemen and soldiers as "outdoor servants."¹³⁷ The term is not a happy one, and appears both arbitrary and of little use in describing these servants. However, those householders it includes were, in both royal and noble households, often grouped together on wages lists and livery assignments; hunting equipment was sometimes bought through the stables; these householders did indeed perform most of their duties outwith the domestic buildings; and the term has been picked up by other historians from Johnson; so it is perhaps best to continue the use of the term "outdoors service" until a more satisfactory term suggests itself.

In the royal household under Henry III, the King's bodyguard were under the control of the Marshal, or Master of the Horse; thus the quasi-military connotation of the title.¹³⁸ Interestingly, however, no record of a private standing army, at least one whose members were not otherwise entitled and employed, appears in noble households in our period — only, occasionally, a door-guard. It may be that such men were given non-military positions in the household or were perhaps paid by an outside source (though no mention of a private militia appears in any surviving receivers-general accounts). In any case, by the fifteenth-century the bulk of the armed might of most lords probably come from retainers, tenants and clients who did not dwell

within the household regularly; though the lack of any specialized body-guard is surprising. Thus the Stable Marshal's authority in a noble household was, at least by c.1370, largely restricted to supervising the care of horses, hawks, hounds and their accoutrements, and to directing others retained for that purpose. Though never the important, powerful person the King's Master of Horse was, he remained a ubiquitous figure in mediaeval noble households — of those used here only the accounts of the 3rd Stafford Duke fail to record the employment of one.

The care of horses, hawks and hounds requires special skills; marshals and stable hands must have always been specialized servants in the "outdoors" division of duties. The marshal (or a clerk, for him) drew up separate accounts which perhaps were later included in the day-book — the Luttrells added in stable expenses weekly, every Friday¹³⁹ — including the wages of the stable hands, who were often paid through the marshal by the week or day, rather than by the quarter-year and with the other servants. The stable purveyed most of its own goods as a department and usually had its own grain stockpile; in the Stafford household it exchanged tallies with the Bakery over a transfer of oats and bran.¹⁴⁰

The number and kind of individual members of the outdoors services varied. This is especially true regarding the hunters, falconers and kennel-keepers whose makeup largely depended on the Lord's fondness for hunting. In the later fifteenth-century their numbers are perhaps less than one might expect, considering the traditional importance placed on hunting as a pastime by most historians. None can be traced in as big a household as the 13th Earl of Oxford's, though he certainly had at least a few. Hugh Luttrell on the other hand had a hunte and several kennelers.¹⁴¹ The 3rd Duke of Buckingham had

one of the largest of such followings, employing two falconers, and six dog-keepers for his leash-hounds, buckhounds and harriers.¹⁴²

Most "outdoors" servants in noble households were actual stable-hands, employed to care for horses. In most households the broad specialisation of ostling serves to detail their function, and doubtless they performed a variety of related tasks, from grooming to cleaning out stalls to mending harness, with such jobs divided if at all by rank -- stables encompassed pagetti, garcioni and valetti. Sumptermen (men who packed, led and cared for sumpter-, or pack-, horses), charioteers and carters however specialized in their relatively skilled fields in the De Vere and Cromwell households.¹⁴³ The Staffords had the most elaborate labour-division of all our households' stables. The 1st Duke employed not only charioteers but three special grooms of the chariot to keep these vehicles in repair, and a private blacksmith to shoe his horses.¹⁴⁴ His great-grandson the 3rd Duke employed, as well, four grooms specifically to care for young horses, two footmen, four footpages; and three valets and fourteen grooms as general ostlers. But then, he had over sixty horses in at least three different stables.¹⁴⁵

We also find that the Staffords tended to departmentalize their grain stocks, or avenary. Under the 1st Duke, the avenary had its own staff who accounted separately and which could exchange tallies;¹⁴⁶ the office persisted at least fictionally in the households of his widow Anne¹⁴⁷ and youngest son Henry;¹⁴⁸ the 3rd Duke re-adapted it as a department or at least a sub-department of the stable, with its own small staff and a valet head; it exchanged tallies and accounted as a unit to the stable cleric or marshal.¹⁴⁹

Most servants, duties, responsibilities were easily part of some labour-division. But a few are hard to classify; even in contemporary chequerrolls they are set apart, not seeming to fit easily in

any one department, or even within a broader division of service. Almoners, medical servants, and laundresses cross the boundaries of our neat schemas. Carol Rawcliffe calls the Stafford Almoner an assistant to the Chancellor;¹⁵⁰ but this is a one-sided look at his many functions. Technically "almoner" refers to one who solicits, collects and distributes alms. Sometimes called the clerk of alms and prayers, he might also have taken charge of the payment for and performance of petitions, remembrances, indulgences, etc. Restricted to larger households, he was usually a cleric, and had some connection, especially in the charge of prayers, with the chapel; but he was sometimes also grouped with the chamber-servants¹⁵¹ — perhaps because he was supposed to be the household conscience, provoking holy works. Because of his position as a collector of money he sometimes acted as an accountant or banker or as a helper to such accountants — for instance, we find him collecting loans solicited by the chancellor for the 3rd Duke of Buckingham.¹⁵²

Physicians and Apothecaries appear on the chequerrolls of the greater baronage receiving yearly wages; but we may also find in the same household doctors called in for treatment and paid per visitum; sometimes these are the same as those paid yearly wages.¹⁵³ They treated not only the Lord but his servants throughout the household. One suspects that they were retained by but did not live in the household. Much the same problem occurs when we consider the laundress. She is difficult to pinpoint, either as a householder or a piece-worker. For some households, such as the Luttrells, we can tell that a laundress got an annual wage; but also that she lived outside the castle, as washing had to be carted to her.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, laundresses got livery wages in the Stafford and De Vere establishments, which would seem to indicate that she "lived in".¹⁵⁵

It is also difficult to classify laundry work. Laundresses are sometimes called "of the chamber"¹⁵⁶ and in one case "of the nursery",¹⁵⁷ yet also cleaned the clothes of many non-chamber servants, table and chapel linen. All these servants who are difficult to categorize highlight the fundamental versatility and flexible qualities of even the largest, most structured households.

The organization of mediaeval noble households shows considerable variation from one to another; yet a number of basic similarities do appear which enable us to discuss them as a group. The adaptations made by nobles upon their households were affected by various factors. Some were due to the general circumstances of the Lord; others to the kind of life he chose to lead. The status of the Master in society — as a political power, his economic position, his heredity, his favour with his peers, etc. — exercised great effects on the kind of household he needed, and the way he chose to live. Other variations were cyclical in nature, and caused differences both between and within households. Generational changes could make for considerable variation over a period of years. Seasonal, and circumstantial, physical movement of the household also caused temporary adjustments in its organization. Households seldom were stable organizations. The factors affecting household organization were numerous, based on the needs each Lord expected it to fulfil. These various needs, the various ways they were answered and how this affected the form of a household, are the subjects of the following chapters.

Chapter IV

Householders

In the final analysis, households and their organizations consisted of people -- individuals, not abstractions, who did not exist in a vacuum, or even solely within a single household. They were born and raised somewhere, by someone, in a wide variety of circumstances, and as adults or children often held working positions outside the household in which we find them, before, after and during their tenure there. Some knowledge of the social status, geographical origins, and biography of the people involved -- of their circumstances outwith the household -- is necessary to our full understanding of how the household functioned, and is helpful in examining the role of servants as individuals within the household in terms of their length of tenure, chances of advancement, reasons for placement in a given position, etc.

One needs to clarify two problems, however, which one encounters immediately upon trying to isolate and research individual householders. Firstly, difficulties often arise when one attempts to determine just who is to be included as a householder. The master and his immediate family can obviously be set aside for the moment; but his distant relations, friends, clients, counsellors, retainers, allies, and estate servants can be more troublesome. Many of these spent considerable time in the household; some of them purveyed for it, or carried messages, or even paid servant's wages. The later mediaeval noble household was a loosely defined organization whose boundaries were never clear. Nevertheless a receiver-general, a knightly member of the lord's affinity with his own estates, a

social equal who sat on commissions with a master of the household — these were perhaps in the household frequently, but they were not always of it; they were not invariably part of its organizational framework. The duties they fulfilled for it were casual; their time spent in it that of guests served by it, not members working as part of it; they were not accountable to its maior domi. For purposes of definition, we shall treat as householders only those who are salaried on a household wage-list, who are given household titles and who are held responsible to its masters, though we might at times discover interesting parallels between householders and other members of the lord's wider affinity.

The second complication is a rather different problem of identity. Even when we have before us a list of householders who fulfilled the above criteria, we may not be able to say anything about them as individuals. In some cases we have only Christian names, or just titles; but even householders whose surnames survive may present difficulties of identification. The Luttrell servant named John Hunte,¹ for instance, cannot be tied down geographically; he cannot be traced to any known Somerset family, or to a known individual of that name; and the commonness of both his Christian appellation and surname means that we cannot even be sure if the John Hunte from the account of 1405-1406 is the same person as the John Hunte listed in those of 1422-1426; or whether the latter and former are cousins, or totally unrelated. To further complicate the matter, surnames which are occupational in origin, like Hunte and Cook and Gardner and Smith, are in the late fifteenth century still only partially hereditary and not necessarily fixed to their owners.² In other words, while most John Hunes were sons of

persons named Hunte or Hunt, some still received that surname because they were huntes; and the same Hunte might be called John Hunte or John Thomson, interchangeably. One must always keep in mind these problems of identity, and act cautiously in attempting to place individuals. Most deductions in this endeavour are likely to result in probabilities rather than proofs, unless the internal evidence of the account is particularly strong, so one must be sure to qualify such likelihoods by logic as well as the available facts.

Well over 1,000 names of household servants survive in the accounts of our five families; for about one-third of these some background information could be given. It would be both tedious and confusing to discuss all of them herein;³ so a general analysis of household servants based on and backed up by the evidence of numerous individual case histories shall be presented, divided into four main areas of concern: (1) the background of the household servant; (2) the connections which led him to take service in the household; (3) the nature of his tenure within the household; and (4) his relations with the household after he left it.

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The reader may note that herein the householder is always assigned the male pronoun. This is less chauvinistic than it may seem, as female householders were practically non-existent. Those we do find are invariably chamberwomen to the Lady of the Household and nursery servants, restricted to the private portions of the house — these were often married to another servant; or laundresses, who much of the time lived outwith the castle walls, as in the case of the Luttrell and Cromwell laundresses.⁴ The mediaeval serving-wench

is a myth created by Hollywood and the extravagances of the Restoration. Not until the late seventeenth century did women really come to form a significant part of a great household's staff.⁵ Indeed, numerous courtesy and householding handbooks warn against the dangers of women in the household;⁶ King Henry VI allegedly believed that women of all kinds should be kept out of the royal household.⁷ Most Lords seem to have agreed, preferring single rather than married men, unless their wives required a servant or the house a laundress, even if the wife lived well without the household. John Russell, secretary to the 3rd Duke of Buckingham, was unable to pay his arrears of office, which was attributed to his need to support a wife and several children; the Duke had little sympathy, and after dismissing Russell was careful to appoint only single men, mostly clerics, to important positions.⁸ Some married couples were appointed to the household in tandem, as it were, usually he to a fairly important post, she to the Lady's chambers. The de Veres employed several such couples, for instance the Fitzlewises. Philip was the household steward in the 1490's; his wife Jane was a Lady's gentlewoman.⁹ Lower down the ranks, the 12th Earl's laundress was married to his kitchen valet.¹⁰ But what few women there were employed in households can be, in relation to their household titles, length of tenure, etc., related to the same sorts of backgrounds as their menfolk; and need not, indeed cannot be discussed as a separate group.

Householders as a whole covered a wide spectrum of social levels. Gentry, and, in some cases, nobility; farming or mercantile families; the urban and rural poor; foreigners, locals and Londoners; all had their place in any household, though in general

the bulk of householders were from local, agriculturally-employed family groups, peasant or yeoman. Most exceptions to this rule occur at the upper end of the household hierarchy, and more commonly in the bigger and more noble households. The maior domi, heads of departments, and some positions for gentlemen might often, though certainly not always, be filled by those of gentle birth. John Tyrrell, for instance, a gentleman-householder to the 12th Earl of Oxford in 1431-1432,¹¹ was part of that gentry family of Essex. Tyrrells served on numerous commissions, as MPs, and from the latter part of the fifteenth century played a significant part in the political events of the day. Sir James Tyrrell, lieutenant of Guisnes, was eventually convicted of treason in 1502 for conspiring with the Duke of Suffolk. His son Thomas, though the attainder was reversed, served as a householder to the 13th Earl of Oxford until the latter's death. William Cromwell's chaplain John de Kyghley,¹² and the Staffords' Pointz employees,¹³ are other examples of well-born servants.

Gentry and even nobility oftenest served in sinecurial positions, however, such as the Stafford Chamberlainship and Chancellorship, and as henchmen. Sir William Knivet, an Essex gentleman of considerable influence, served as Chamberlain to the 3rd Duke's household from 1514,¹⁴ and Sir Richard Sackville as the Duke's Chancellor;¹⁵ both positions were largely devoid of householding responsibilities, but acted as legal forms of maintenance. Similarly, William Lord Hastings was a titular estates steward to Anne, Dowager Duchess of Buckingham.¹⁶ Henchmen as well, those half-servants, half-wards, were oftenest drawn from among the upper classes. Sir William Knivet's heir, Robert, served as a page to the 3rd Duke of Buckingham

in 1517.¹⁷ Anthony Darcy, probably a son of Thomas Lord Darcy, served as a henchman to the 13th Earl of Oxford, as did John Radcliffe, later restored as Baron Fitzwalter, in the 1490's.¹⁸ All the examples given here exhibit one particularly interesting, prominent characteristic: these individual servants or their families were part of the lord's affinity or retinue in its more commonly-applied sense: that is, they received annual fees or annuities from the Lord in question, and in some cases were bound to him by indenture,¹⁹ in the latter's hope that they would provide him with moral, political and, ultimately, armed support and counsel when he required it. Many Stafford householders were also members of the Dukes' affinities in this wider sense: the aforementioned Sir William Knivet, Nicholas Pointz, and Sir Robert Sackville, for instance. The twelfth Earl of Oxford's John Tyrrell, discussed above, also received a yearly annuity. More generally, gentle servants most often came from families whose chief members had traditionally been retained by the formers' masters. The Staffords', Pointzes, Knivets, and de la Meres, the de Veres' Tyrrells and the Cromwells' Kyghleys, are all cases in point.

These ties between the household and the wider affinity add to our understanding of how retaining worked. For the Lord, such double connections might, he hoped, strengthen the bonds between himself and his gentle retainers, who usually received annuities from more than one magnate; and it might provide him with an effective means of sanction over the retained individuals and family groups who withheld support when it was required. Recipients of annuities who also had a connection with the Lord's household certainly gained, not merely more income, but also an "inside ear",

as it were, which could both entreat for favours and obtain important information more easily than a retainer outside the householding establishment. In any wise, householders retained by annuity formed a significant part of a lord's feed annuity -- about a fourth of the first Duke of Buckingham's retinue;²⁰ and retainers with relatives inside the Lord's household are not uncommon -- probably forty-one of the same Duke's annuitants had such relations.²¹

The service of these nobles and gentles must be qualified, however, in several ways. Firstly, those who actually took service were usually either younger sons who needed to make their way in the world and could aid their family by a household connection; or heirs prior to their assumption of the family responsibilities, who were educated in an environment suitable to their station and also achieved early "connections" for themselves and their families, through their positions as henchmen. The few upper-class servants who were also powerful in their own right, such as Sir William Knivet, did not perform household duties, but held household positions as sinecures, solely for the sake of the annuity and the alliance that came with it. Moreover, we seldom find upper-class servants in the smaller households of the gentry, such as the Stonors and Luttrells. In all known instances, the aristocracy served only in the households of their superiors, observing the social hierarchy.

However, even in the households of the greatest nobles, many important servants as well as those in lesser positions were drawn, not from the ranks of the gentry, but from simple yeoman or peasant families. One could cite many examples. Katherine Edward, a servitor to Margaret Cromwell in 1419-1420, was probably a member of one of those Edward families which were smallholders in Tydd.²²

Thomas Pratt, a servant to Thomas Stonor II, was part of a yeoman farming family from the area of Nettlebed.²³ The various Hextalls, who were servants of the Staffords from 1427 to 1520, were originally modest farmers from Maxstoke, Staffordshire.²⁴ William Wistowe, a Stafford clerk of the forensica and magna hospicium and later Treasurer and Steward (1438-1470), probably came from the yeoman or peasant classes of the village of Wistenstowe, Staffordshire.²⁵ These yeomen and peasants, with their families, for whom household service could be an important basis of individual or family fortune, form the basis of the background of most household servants.

Geographically as well as socially, the backgrounds of servants can be identified. By far the great majority of householders were "locals", that is natives of the general vicinity in which a lord and his household usually dwelt. This holds true for servants of all classes; the commoners mentioned above are obvious examples. Robert Pointz, who has been previously discussed,²⁶ came from a gentry family of the Staffordshire/Gloucestershire Welsh Marches, neighbours to the Staffords, as were the Knivets²⁷ in the Staffords' other chief base, around Writtle (now part of Chelmsford), Essex. Of some twenty traceable servants in the Luttrell households from 1405 to 1432,²⁸ fully twelve have geographically placeable names, all of which are from Devon and Somerset, and most from the hundred of Carhampton, the seat of which was Dunster. More specifically a comparison of the surnames of any household with those on the manorial records of its home estate show many correlations.²⁹ Simply in terms of sheer availability, local people were the obvious source for householders; servant and master had greater access to sanctions should the household tenure prove unsatisfactory to either;

and of course both local and lord had a vested interest in forming an alliance with each other, whether this was the Lord's or gentle family's desire to create a local power bloc, or the peasant's to find a ready buyer for his ale.

Two exceptions can be noted counter to this tendency to employ as household servants local people of various classes. Firstly, the Stonors and the 3rd Duke of Buckingham employed numerous Londoners. Of the few traceable Stonor servants fully half were London-born or bred;³⁰ but it could be said that the relative closeness of the Stonors to London (a little over a day's journey by land or a day's by water), their frequent visits to the metropolis, and the marriage of William Stonor to the Londoner Elizabeth Ryche, meant that for the Stonors "local people" were as much Londoners, as the Pratts of Nettlebed.³¹ As well, the 3rd Duke of Buckingham employed in the 1520's three fully identifiable Londoners as servants;³² in his letter of November 1520 to Robert Gilbert, his Chancellor, he instructs Gilbert to seek out two natives of the city to fill vacant household positions;³³ in 1520-1521 William Cholmeley, the Duke's cofferer, mentioned in his account another three Londoners who appealed to the Duke for a place in his household.³⁴ In addition, the surnames of other Stafford servants afford numerous examples of non-local names, such as Bruton (Somerset) and Birkenshaw (Yorkshire, West Riding).³⁵ These may be Londoners with country origins; certainly they are names which occur in that city in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³⁶ Of course, some may represent immigrants into the vicinity of Thornbury or Writtle, though the high proportions of non-local names in the household of the 3rd Duke makes this an unlikely explanation for all the names. Edward Stafford had a major

home, the manor of Red Rose, in London, and he visited the city frequently; he may have found Londoners more suited to his sophisticated tastes than those with provincial, rural backgrounds.

One also finds that in most households a few foreign servants were employed. Of course, names like le Breton and Caux (a Norman place-name)³⁷ could have been due to the immigration of an ancestor years or even centuries ago into the area around a household base. But in some cases oddities of English usage indicate more clearly a foreign background, such as the Stonors' Richard Blackwell, who used such words as stane for stone, beastie for stock animals, and spelt goodwife as gude wyffe, which seem to indicate a Scots or at least a Northern origin.³⁸ Recent immigration in the case of Blackwell and his family, together with some foreign recruitment by the Lord — Hugh Luttrell, for instance, and also the 1st Duke of Buckingham, (one of whose titles was Count of Perche) were after all in France nearly half of their adult lives — explain the incidence of foreign service.

With a modicum of exceptions, however, the vast majority of servants in any household were likely to be from a yeoman or peasant family which was local to the general area of the employing household. But many people were local to a household without becoming servants within it. We need to examine the kinds of connections between an individual and a household or master which led to the taking of service.

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Those gentle families whose members joined a noble household almost always formed part of the master of that household's community of peers, people he probably grew up with and as an adult saw

frequently — gentles and nobles who served with him as M.Ps, sheriffs, members of commissions, J.Ps, royal administrators of various kinds; these families' members and heads as we have shown earlier, often sat on the Lord's council and received his annuities, or granted annuities to him. These families formed with the Lord the network of local, and sometimes national, power. Most such families had younger sons, cousins and poor relations who required a position in life; their children when they reached their early "teens" also had to be found a proper environment. Naturally enough, gentle families turned first to the households of their peers; which were a prime source of profitable, honourable employment, and which had the additional advantage of strengthening ties between the families. In turn, the master of a household would be likely to seek for his upper servants by enquiring among his peers. Unless the employment was unsatisfactory, such a system tended to strengthen the bonds which held together the upper classes, particularly on a local level. For instance, on the Essex peace commission of 1547 A. Wentworth, A. Darcy, A. Waldegrave, Pyrton, Tyrrell, Wiseman, Josselyn, Lucas, Danyell, Tay, Cardinall, and Heigham were appointed along with the 16th Earl of Oxford^{38a} — all families who had provided servants to the de Veres over the preceding seventy-five years, and of which twelve families, seven had relations serving the 16th Earl in 1550-1551. William Paston,³⁹ who served with the 13th de Vere Earl from c. 1487 to c. 1503, shows us the working of this system of relationships in more detail. In his three surviving letters home and the replies sent to him, from his brother John, he reports on the Earl's every movement and is plugged for information on his master's state of mind and attitude to the Pastons; the Earl and the Pastons use

William to convey frequent messages one to the other. This was the same sort of system which operated in the King's household; one need only recall John Paston II's activities on behalf of his family when he was a member of Edward IV's household.⁴⁰ Less exalted households of the gentry also took their higher servants from among the families of their community of peers. Thomas Stonor II's man Thomas Pratt was a member of a relatively wealthy yeoman family, who eventually inherited lands and a house near Nettlebed where the Stonors often visited on their way to and from London.⁴¹ John Strecche, a Somerset gentleman and first husband of Hugh Luttrell's wife Catherine, had a cousin Michael who went to service as a chamberer to Sir Hugh.⁴² Much in the way that public school men and Harvard-educated lawyers keep hold of their personal and professional ascendancy by relying on personal connections to forge a network of influence, preference and power, relying on each other to find or fill desirable jobs, the nobles of the realm in the fifteenth century created a web of relationships which was very hard to break through, so densely was it woven. The employment of each other's family members in the household was one thread of this system.

Lesser jobs and menial services required in the household did not, however, generally appeal to gentle relations, however poor; nor were such positions close enough to the master to provide any extra advantages for the Lord or the gentle servant. Butlers, Cooks, sewers, laundresses, stable-boys, etc. were drawn outwith the master's community of peers. But they, too, were not gotten through an employment bureau, but tended to come from families that had more humble connections with the household or the master. Most of those lower servants who can be identified came from the area most

immediately around the household's main geographical centre; and many of these seem to have been either members of families that were tenants of the Lord, or with whom his household dealt for supplies. Richard Heigham and his relatives were farmers and wool-traders around Lavenham (Suffolk), in which town the de Veres had a town house; the 13th Earl's household dealt with Richard Heigham for the provision of sheep, live and slaughtered; at least three of his relatives served the 13th and 15th Earls of Oxford.⁴³ Robert and Thomas Bennett, householders in 1417 to 1420 to William and Margaret Cromwell, were members of a Tydd tenant-farming family which also sold grain to the household. Walter Kebbell, steward to Ralph Cromwell 1444-1446, was a tenant-farmer of his master.⁴⁴ The simple availability of these people who were already connected with the household or the master in some way made them an obvious choice. Household service provided well for some of the landless members of smallholding families and offered a potentially useful "connection" with a noble whose power over them was an important factor in their lives. For the Lord the employment of tenantry and trading families could help to tie local loyalties to himself.

Very similar sources of employment were exploited to fill the ranks of the Lord's estates services; and we often find that families and also individuals who served as estates ministers also filled household positions. The Pointzes not only provided the Staffords with a household servant, Robert (1507-1508),⁴⁵ but also two estates stewards (Robert, 1405-1416, and Robert, 1496-1497), and two receivers for the Gloucester area (Nicholas, 1438-1453, and John, 1462-1464).⁴⁶ Richard Arnold of Glastonbury was a household servant to Hugh Luttrell from 1417 to 1419, in which last year he

became receiver-general, a position he held until 1427.⁴⁷ John Heton, receiver-general to the first Duke of Buckingham from 1438 to 1464, became the Dowager Duchess Anne's steward until his death in the later 1460's.⁴⁸ Numerous other such examples could be given, to show that many household servants were drawn from the ranks and relatives of estates ministers, and vice-versa.

The importance of family groups to the provision of household servants should by now be obvious. The family was a political and economic, as well as a social unit in the middle ages, so that we are not surprised to find that initially household servants got their positions through various kinds of family connections. But one also discovers that families as a whole, not just individual members, could hold a tradition of household service to a particular noble family just as some families were traditionally members of certain affinities. A list of household servants in a given year may prove to show not only a relationship to local families but to include many relatives; a comparison of chequerrolls covering several generations of masters and servants usually expresses even more clearly such a tradition of service passing from father to nephew or son to cousin or grandson. Many examples could be given; one already recalls the Pointzes, Heighams and Bennets. Such examples fall into three classes: firstly, one can discover numerous members of a single generation of related servants working for one master. We have already mentioned the frequency of married couples. In 1490-1491, John Pilkington (from a Northants. family, who farmed de Vere lands) served as a child-companion to the future 14th Earl of Oxford at Castle Hedingham. Another Pilkington whose first name has not survived was, in the same year, an assistant, perhaps kitchen

clerk, to the household steward; and a cousin to the Pilkingtons, John Danyell, (co-heir of Roger Pilkington, through his mother), was a gentleman of the household, counsellor, and later receiver, and executor of the will of the 13th Earl and his second wife.⁴⁹

Several generations of a family, sometimes father and son, might also serve one Lord. John Tamworth and his adolescent son were part of Ralph Cromwell's household, 1445 to 1447;⁵⁰ the Stonors employed from 1468 to 1472 a John White the elder and an adult John White the younger, his son;⁵¹ and in the 1470's at least seven Blackhalls, including at least one father and son.⁵² Furthermore, one frequently finds that such family traditions were so firmly rooted as to carry from one master to his heir. About 50% of those who were Hugh Luttrell's householders in 1425, also served his son John in 1429,⁵³ and this includes only those servants whose names have been recorded; the actual percentage may have been higher. Other of our five families, for whom gaps of twenty years occur between accounts are harder to gauge in this way, as death and retirement take their toll over such breaks; nevertheless, an individual can frequently be found serving his original master's widow, son or even grandson. John White and his son, William Danyell and his wife, and Robert Barre all served under both Thomas Stonor II and William Stonor;⁵⁴ William Wistowe worked for the first Duke of Buckingham, his wife the Duchess Anne after the 1st Duke's death, and their youngest son Henry (1438 to c. 1470).⁵⁵ But the continuation of several familial generations of householders, as well as individual servants, over generations of masters can also be traced. At least four Reginald Brays served the Staffords as estate and household servants from 1408 to 1499, as well as three other Brays, brothers

of the third Reginald, between 1452 and 1469.⁵⁶ The Hextall family, which owed its rise to the Staffords, supplied the latter with householders from 1445 to 1501.⁵⁷ At least four Lucases (a Colchester family) served as stewards and household gentlemen as well as receivers to the de Veres from 1442 to 1551.⁵⁸ These families could be gentry like the Brays or wealthy farmers such as the Lucases; they might be of quite humble origins, such as the Hextalls, or the many generations of Jegons and Ffoukes who served the Staffords in garden, stable and kitchen.⁵⁹ The continuation of these bonds of service over several generations served to further strengthen the ties between a Lord's family, his peers and his followers.

Various, traditional community ties brought individuals and groups into household service, and in turn affected the nature of their tenure in the household: who tended to fill what positions, for how long and under what circumstances, and what servants in general stood to gain from household service. We have already mentioned that gentry recruits usually entered the upper regimes of the household. This did not, however, rebound on the yeoman and peasant men who entered household rank. They too might be stewards, or treasurers, and receive the title of "gentleman"; especially if they came of a family with a long record of service. William Wistowe, John Heton, the Hextalls, and William Cholmeley, all of obscure origins, rose to the highest positions in the Stafford household,⁶⁰ probably the most prestigious princely court (excepting the royal court) in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. "The Commons", however, also filled the lower positions of the household, while no example of a born gentleman taking on a household job of little prestige can be found. In brief, Yeomen and peasants

probably had to show merit to obtain profitable household positions, while gentry normally seem to have come to such offices as of right. Besides the positions of maior domi and heads of departments, gentry were especially assigned to chamber service, which by closeness to the Lord raised such positions above other household placements in terms of influence, responsibilities and salaries. The Staffords' Pointzes,⁶¹ did so as personal servants; Michael Strecche,⁶³ Hugh Luttrell's gentle in-law, served mainly as his master's chamberer. Though naturally not all chamberers were of gentle birth, Lords probably preferred to associate with men near their own social status, and clearly the gentle servitor preferred and expected such a position. It is perhaps significant that most commoners such as Wistowe and Cholmeley who rose to key household positions, did so through accounting positions and became maior domi, rather than rising through or into the chamber. Members of common families with a tradition of service, however, probably obtained prestigious appointments more readily than other commoners -- also they were, probably, absolutely as well as individually preferred for household service. The Jegons, for instance, began serving the de Veres as gardeners and stable hands; by 1513 one Jegon entered the fourteenth Earl's household as a caterer,⁶⁴ a position of considerable responsibility.

Having obtained a placement in the household, the evidence suggests that servants stayed there a long time, making of householding a life's career. Examples of twenty year's tenure are not unusual; out of the twenty-two salaried servants listed in the Luttrell accounts, eleven can be traced in accounts separated by ten years or more.⁶⁵ When we consider that any household account

certainly fails to mention all the servants employed in the year accounted, and that long gaps of twenty or more years may intervene between accounts, so that the tenure of any given servant is likely to be longer than the period we can be sure of, the percentage of servants who served in households over ten years is likely to be considerably higher than the known 50%.⁶⁶ The Cromwells are perhaps the sole major exception. Families and indeed individuals can seldom be traced for more than three or four years in their accounts. This may be due to the inheritance pattern in this family. It was indirect -- from uncle to nephew to niece: it involved in the first instance a geographical change, from Tydd to Tattershall; and it occurred in the adulthood of the heirs, when they had already formed their own groups of servants around themselves; they were thus more likely to carry their own households with them to their new inheritance rather than take on their predecessor's men. Cromwellian figures are also misleading in this respect. Gaps of twenty and more years occur between the three sets of accounts, during which time individuals and even families common to several Cromwells could die off. This, added to the problem of accounts seldom tending to register all servants, obviates the lack of continuity among servants of the Cromwells. Gentle servants were also less likely to make householding a career. Youths in service frequently left at eighteen to pursue their own interests; men like Sir Richard Sackville, the 3rd Duke of Buckingham's Chancellor for a short time, had important political careers of their own.⁶⁷ But the younger sons of the gentry could show considerable staying power; one need only consider George Cavendish, Wolsey's gentleman-usher, who never left his master's service until Wolsey's death, despite the

danger to Cavendish and to the comfort of his family.⁶⁸ Many examples of long service can be noted. Philip Fitzlowes, was steward in the de Vere household from at least 1488 to 1500.⁶⁹ John Bacwell served in various positions within the Luttrell household from 1405 to 1420.⁷⁰ John Heton spanned several generations of Staffords, from 1438 to the late 1460's.⁷¹ Goddard Oxbridge remained in Stonor service from the early 1460's to at least 1485.⁷² Richard Parker worked for the Cromwellian households at Tattershall from 1471 to 1493.⁷³ Servants spanned two or more generations of masters, major reversals of fortune (Humphrey Ffoukes and his family continued to serve Henry Baron Stafford after the 3rd Duke, Ffoukes' former employer, had been executed and his son attainted⁷⁴), and sometimes fundamental geographical upheavals (the Hextall family transferred from Staffordshire to Kent under the Stafford Dukes,⁷⁵ and Gilbert Gilpin, going from the service of the Dowager Duchess Anne Stafford to her son Henry Lord Stafford,⁷⁶ moved his base from Essex to Surrey and Berkshire). One suspects that positive advantages, as much or more than altruistic loyalties, combined to encourage servants to stay on in households, even under such exacting and suspicious lords as the 3rd Duke of Buckingham.⁷⁷

We have already suggested that household service provided a convenient, honourable living for landless younger sons of the upper ranks of society, and an education for gently-born children; it also provided a further "contact" between the master and his servants' families, gentry, yeoman or peasant. More personally, the servant himself, and his descendants, could also gain considerably through household service. Food, clothing, and shelter were provided free, on top of a generous salary. While sleeping conditions could be crowded, upper servants sometimes got their own rooms.⁷⁸ The

regular grants of livery given to servants, meant to reflect the master's wealth and status, were often much more than adequate; Hugh Luttrell granted several tunics, hosen, an embroidered cloak and numerous pairs of shoes to each of his gentlemen, valets, grooms and boys.⁷⁹ The Tattershall account for Ralph Lord Cromwell's servants left there in 1447 shows that, even in the absence of the master, his servants — including such humble employees as the laundress — fed remarkably well, on a varied diet of poultry, beef, lamb, mutton, wild-fowl, bread, ale, and even a modicum of wine.⁸⁰ These relatively high living standards were part of a servant's perquisites, and did not encroach upon his salary, which ranged from stable groom and kitchen boy at 6s 8d to 13s 4d per annum, to the gentleman or chamber valet at 40s, to the steward at 10 li or over.⁸¹ If they wished, servants could amass a small fortune over years of service, especially as salaries were frequently supplemented by rewards, "tips", Christmas and other holiday bonuses, and annuities granted by the master, usually after a long period of service. Wolsey's gentleman-usher George Cavendish,⁸² and John Russell, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester's marshal,⁸³ can be cited as examples of comfortable retirement on proceeds from household service (see also page 145, this chapter). A further illustration of servants' living standards and status achieved through household positions can be found in contemporary sumptuary laws, which regulated the conspicuous consumption of individuals by their position in society, especially by means of personal costume. Among those types of people specifically mentioned as offenders, are merchants; rich peasants; and household members, who are accused of using their positions to wear clothes improper to their station: types of fur, "dagged" or intricately

cut cloth, exceptionally long sleeves and shoe points, all matters of costume technically restricted to use to the nobility.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, due to the gentility conferred upon them by household service, servants (while not a separate classification in sumptuary laws) were allowed privileges in costume denied others born into a similar position in society: a yeoman farmer, for instance, was not allowed to use some of the dyes legally permitted in the livery of a yeoman groom or usher in a great household.⁸⁵ Clearly, the advantageous position of householders is shown in these laws: they could legitimately raise their status, and their standards of comfort and elegance, higher than that of their relatives outside the household; but servants could, and also did, use this householding status, excess funds and their masters' indulgence to adopt the outward signs of a gentility which Parliament was not willing to award them.⁸⁶

While we can say little that is concrete about the actual satisfaction of servants with their masters and vice-versa, or the fierceness of competition for favours and advancement within the household, the long terms of service and low rate of turnover of many householders as well as the advantages suggested above, suggests a relatively relaxed environment, and shows that the maintenance of a household position was not particularly difficult. We do not find many examples of unsatisfactory servants: only one fired by the Luttrells in twenty-six years; two for the Cromwells in sixty;⁸⁷ none for the Stonors; three for John, 13th Earl of Oxford.⁸⁸ Only the 3rd Stafford Duke showed a relatively high failure-rate among his servants: he dismissed or prosecuted, in thirty years, at least eighteen servants.⁸⁹ But many of those prosecuted, like Humphrey

Floukes his stable hand for trespass, stayed on in his and his son's employ;⁹⁰ and we must remember that the 3rd Duke was an unusually irascible and suspicious master, actively seeking for signs of his servants' treachery;⁹¹ and that of all noble households his was most likely to be a competitive court. Of course, disagreements and tensions occurred among the servants of every household, as in any community, sometimes to the point of job-affectation — the Stonor servants Goddard Oxbridge and David Wrykam became embroiled in a series of charge and counter-charge concerning each other's fitness and honesty that took William Stonor some time to sort out;⁹² and much of the legislation restricting maintenance includes exhortations to masters that part of their responsibilities as lords was to prevent their legally-retained servants, that is householders, from quarrelling and lawless behaviour, both among themselves and with outsiders, especially the servants of other lords.⁹³ But it was still possible for someone like Reginald Seynesbury, who lost a horse, ruined twelve stone of tallow, and whose surviving personal account is a lesson in poor clerical procedure, to work in the Luttrell household for at least nineteen years, from 1405 to 1424.⁹⁴

Nevertheless, there was a place for ambition and advancement, especially through the establishments of the greater magnates. Within the household, some servants of ability could and did advance to responsible positions, entailing greater salaries, more annuities, some influence, authority within one's sphere — a kind of vicarious power, a second-hand greatness, such as that enjoyed by Wolsey's George Cavendish and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester's John Russell when commanding others, commandeering rooms and food, or conferring in loco domini.⁹⁵ Advancement could occur over a long or relatively

short period of time; but in all cases, where it can be identified, it tended to follow a pattern. The most spectacular cases of advancement occurred among the accountants of the household, who might rise from obscure origins to positions of great authority. One can cite as an example George Fishlake, Ralph Cromwell's kitchen clerk in 1446, who by 1450 rose to steward of the household;⁹⁶ William Wistowe, clerk of the foreign household to the 1st Duke of Buckingham in 1438, treasurer in 1443, and steward to the Stafford/Beaufort household from the late 1460's to at least 1470;⁹⁷ Gilbert Gilpin, also of the Stafford/Beaufort household, clerk of the foreign household and of the kitchen in 1466, promoted in 1471 to steward⁹⁸; Robert Draper, a Luttrell sub-clerk from 1420 to 1422 and then steward to 1426.⁹⁹ All these men were, probably, at least minor clerics; all progressed in less than ten years from lower clerical positions, where they could gain practical experience, before proceeding to the more important offices. We do not find them progressing to responsible accounting positions through the chamber, or via hall or stable service. Other, lay men who held the positions of maior domi usually were of gentle blood, such as Philip Fitzlowes, the 13th de Vere Earl's steward, and did not progress to such positions through the household, but were appointed to them straight-way, usually with some experience in estates service behind them; this is the case with John Heton, who became steward to the 1st Dowager Duchess of Buckingham after many years as receiver-general to her husband.¹⁰⁰

It would perhaps be wise, here, to consider clerical servants in more detail. Those who signed themselves "clericus" were an important element in the household, and those who most commonly

gained the greatest advancement. By the fifteenth century the use of clericus generally refers as much to a lay accountant as to someone in holy orders; as we cannot trace many ordinations of household clerici -- even of those who were chaplains and therefore assuredly in orders of some kind -- we must be careful not to assume they were in religion. We may note, however, that none of those who call themselves clerici can be found to be married, and one later retires to a monastery; others serve as chaplains; while those accountants who stand out in not referring to themselves as clerici, such as John Heton, and Philip Fitzlowes, can be found to be married men;¹⁰¹ so that one may correctly attribute a likelihood of a clericus being in some form of religious orders. Many of those who called themselves clerici were of obscure origins -- witness names like Wistowe, Bacwell, and Draper¹⁰² -- rather than of the gentry; and many have no kind of familial connection with the Lord, as part of his affinity or clientage though their names show a local connection. While none of the five families, unfortunately, can show a direct link between training and employment, other examples exist of the Lord acting as sponsor to a bright but poor scholar who eventually came to his service. Certainly William Stonor, and the Staffords sent several young men through University, who quite probably became householders in time.¹⁰³ The model letters of Thomas Sampson cite numerous such situations.¹⁰⁴ Such churchmen, unmarried, with no inherited interests, might owe everything to their patrons, and must have seemed especially valuable and loyal servants. They might also be the best-educated. The Oxford grammar-masters provided business training, much of it specifically directed to teaching the skills needed for running a great household

or estate; after these died out in the mid-fifteenth century scholars may have obtained training at local grammar schools, learning the diplomatic, accounting and legal skills necessary to their positions.¹⁰⁵ Some, of course, probably learned their skills through reading treatises, or by experience and observation; but in any case accountants were likely to be the most learned and able men in the household, whether in religious orders or not, and were able to aspire to its highest positions.

Though accounting training of some kind was virtually imperative to rise to the highest household positions, servants without gentle blood or clerical qualifications could also advance themselves, though less dramatically. William Tyllly, a general householder earning 13s 4d per annum from Hugh Luttrell in 1405-1406, had become household cook in 1420, with a wage increase to 20s per annum.¹⁰⁶ Richard Arnold, a Luttrell caterer in 1418, had become receiver-general to Hugh in 1419.¹⁰⁷ William Skegge and John Kirk, valets of the guarderobe to the 3rd Stafford Duke, rose to become, respectively, valet-usher and gentleman-usher of the chamber,¹⁰⁸ Kirk gaining not only to a higher department but to a higher rank. John Forster, valet of the cellars to the Staffords from 1443, became a chief-cellarer by 1465.¹⁰⁹ Though these may seem minor advances, they represented substantial increases in status and living standards to the servants, often of peasant or yeoman stock, who achieved them. Such promotions could also carry over into life outside the household, and perhaps on to future generations.

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Despite the tendency to long tenures, not all servants died, as it were, in harness. Those who left the household did so under

varying circumstances, and with different results. Gentry who had their own political careers and financial interests, as in the 3rd Duke of Buckingham's servants Sir William Knivet and Sir Richard Sackville, experienced the shortest tenures, as we have said, unless their positions were wholly sinecurial; but many of these continued to receive annuities from their erstwhile employer, clearly remaining within his affinity.¹¹⁰ One might also suspect that their time as householders, if satisfactory, strengthened the bonds between them and their Lord within the local and national community. This was certainly true of well-born child-servants. Antony Danvers (probably a son or nephew of Sir John Danvers of Dauntsey, Wilts.), a henchman to the 13th Earl of Oxford in 1506, received an annuity in the Earl's will;¹¹¹ Lord Fitzwalter, who before his attainder was reversed was also a child-servant to John XIII, remained a member of the Earl's retinue as an adult, receiving a yearly fee.¹¹²

But even those who had made householding a career might leave the service of a lord. Some, of course, left under unhappy circumstances. Charles and Elizabeth Knivet, and Margaret Gedding, were summarily dismissed from the 3rd Stafford Duke's service for unknown offences. Charles and Margaret seem to have managed to get into service with Cardinal Wolsey in exchange for telling of their late master's supposed treason.¹¹³ Most servants, however, seem to have surrendered their positions under happier circumstances. Servants changed households on occasion, some even entering royal service;¹¹⁴ others returned to University, or to land cultivation.¹¹⁵ But old age seems to have been the most frequent cause of some kind of retirement. John Russell, in the Boke of Nurture, speaks of the annuity granted him by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, which allows him

a secure and comfortable old age.¹¹⁶ Pensions, annuities and lump sums were often provided for servants in the wills of their masters', especially for those with a long record of service; at the very least, servants were usually granted their wages for six months or a year beyond their master's death — a form of redundancy pay.¹¹⁷ Such pensions were as commonly granted in the master's lifetime, such as the 60s per annum granted to old Nicholas Welles in 1475 by Joan and Robert Radcliffe.¹¹⁸ Some older servants were simply given a different, less-taxing job which provided them with a tidy income. Anne Stafford's cellarer of thirty-one year's standing became in 1474 a warrenner at Writtle, where his old age could be lived out in peace.¹¹⁹ Hugh Luttrell's clerk of the household, Robert Draper, may also have been of retirement age, or experienced some religious fervour, when he became a monk;¹²⁰ he continued in close relations with the household, being sent presents by Sir Hugh and accompanying Joan, Hugh's sister, a nun at Shaftsbury, on her journeys to Dunster.¹²¹

Satisfactory household servants clearly could expect a comfortable and secure life, perhaps well above that which their personal, social and financial status at birth might have indicated. Whether they were able to raise the position of their families and descendants, and how far, is however another question. This problem is complicated by the fact that those servants who made the most dramatic ascents were clerics or unmarried men who had no families to provide for. Similarly, younger sons of families — gentle or peasant — did not necessarily profit from or contribute to their families' status directly. But could such younger sons establish a cadet branch, through a fortune gathered from household service? We may consider George Cavendish, Wolsey's gentleman-usher, who was able to support wife and children

in a manor-house and leave a comfortable inheritance, which his own inherited wealth could not have afforded.¹²² We do not find, however, that the Jegons, Mildemays, Heighams, Lucases, or other families in which father succeeded son in household service, rose significantly in social status either within the household or without it; though their standard of living must have improved. The few exceptions highlight this tendency: the Hextalls climbed out of their yeoman status into that of a merchant, a financial but not much of a social increase; John Kirk became a gentleman instead of a valet but does not seem to have carried this into county life. Householders may have become more comfortably established in their social niche, but they did not climb into a higher one. Such social climbing as did exist was restricted, perhaps consciously, to unmarried men or clerics who would not pass on any meritocratic advances to a second generation. Household service, then, provided comfortable and advantageous positions for individuals and their families, and also aided and participated in systems of loyalties and alliances between peers, lords, clients and peasants.

Chapter V

The Method of Household Accounting

The chief source of information available for the study of the mediaeval noble household is, as we have noted, the household account -- documents produced in the household, by householders, as records of its financial transactions. As with most documents, accounts both have advantages and create problems. First of all, the accounts that have come down to us are unbiased. They were not intended, in the way of narratives and chronicles, to present any particular view of the noble household out of which they came. Accounts also show us the household in action. Through them we observe its workings almost at first hand, without having to depend on an intermediary's conceptual explanations. Furthermore accounts were generated by the household itself -- they are, as it were, the very lava disgorged from its tumultuous insides. Finally, most accounts contain much detail: they are very rich documents enclosing considerable information in a remarkably concise form. Problems arise, however, when we attempt to interpret these accounts. We have to be aware of the accountant's use of artificial organization, which is paper rather than real; we have to be alert for accounting fictions such as the fictional loan. One must be careful not to impute too much authority to the accountant, who may have been a book-keeper rather than an executive, simply because he seems so important in the documents which have survived. A similar "misrepresentation by proximity" tends to occur when we try to observe trends in household evolution. These have a disturbing tendency to match the rise in incidence of accounts. Thus we must be cautious about imputing apparent increases in size or greater complexity of

accounting systems to the third Duke of Buckingham rather than his father or his great-grandfather, when we have over twice as many accounts and hence twice as much information for the former.¹ As well, the very richness of accounts can be dangerous. They are highly sophisticated documents and we can easily fail to take into account various crucial factors in their structure and vocabulary which are not immediately obvious, such as the nature of the balance, the varied meanings of forensica, and the purpose of the stock inventory. Accounts also take for granted much that is strange to us; sometimes we are forced to turn to ordinances and other, narrative descriptions of the household in order to solve the mysteries accounts present, such as the function of arrears. Finally, despite their richness, we must realize that we can never deal with full sets of accounts over a period of several years. No case of the survival of the accounts kept for a single household over one year can be traced; moreover, very few "runs" of any sorts of accounts, representing a household over a number of consecutive years, survive. Gaps of a generation are common. Nevertheless, if we are careful to use accounts imaginatively and with thought, we can find in them not only the framework of the household, but the implications of that structure for its members, its master, and the society for which it was constructed.

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No systematic attempts have been made to analyse household accounting methods; yet to be used such documents must be understood. Some historians have discussed their general purpose, though usually in relation to royal accounts, in ways that are pertinent to our aims. Most writers on this subject have posited that the purpose of most accounts was not, as in a modern financial document, to arrive at a

balance of receipts and expenditures, but to display that he who was in charge of the money was honest. In essence, mediaeval accounts were arguments, in which the author attempted to overwhelm the various Videtur of the Quaestio with his sed contra, backed up with bills, vouchers, and references to other accounts for that year which act as quod dicitur, as authorities, behind his assertions of allowable expense. Thus one finds that expenses listed in an account may considerably overwhelm receipts, which in a modern record of transactions would be impossible. Some historians have taken this to mean that the noble household continually lived above its means, existing on credit.² While this did indeed happen on some occasions, we must remember that an accountant usually entered costs under the expenses which were his responsibility to record; but some of these costs were actually paid out of the pocket of the caterer who is recorded as doing the actual buying, rather than by the accountant directly, which cash the caterer may or may not have gotten out of the accountant. Hence money could be spent in the discharge or expense part of the account which was not registered among the receipts.

As well as making clear the liability of the accountant, accounts must also have been useful to servants in charge of buying, who could use them to estimate the amounts of various items likely to be required. Accounts could serve other purposes as well. Though not primarily intended as pictures of economic status, Lords and their ministers, accustomed to their real purpose, were able to get a rough idea of the financial state of the household, and also of the whereabouts of part of their net income. Household accounts were sometimes included in "views" or "valors", which were surveys of

a Lord's entire income and often attempted to give some idea of his expenditure.³ Though they estimated a Lord's potential rather than actual income, valors could provide a noble with a guide to the reasons behind his economic status, which he could use for the establishment of financial reforms. Thus household records of the flow of money and goods were intended as checks on the honesty of those who held cash and on their liability, ensuring that money was spent properly; but they were also useful as a guide to purchase and could be used in attempts to get some idea of the Lord's financial situation.

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To fulfil these purposes accounts were usually set forth in some kind of organized manner; but these structures were not rigidly fixed — almost as many forms survive as accounts. Nor are any of these forms really related to modern methods of accounting. We are so accustomed to the double-entry system that we find it difficult to comprehend the existence of other methods. Double-entry is perhaps best described as a book-keeping system whereby all transactions are entered twice, for their debit and credit natures, in a ledger wherein these are immediately comparative. A balance of expense and receipt is an essential characteristic of double-entry method.⁴ True, mediaeval household accountants sometimes double-entered items, particularly goods received, but not all the time or in any systematic way that has any relation in kind to the modern ledger and journal; and a modern sense of balance was of little importance. Almost all mediaeval household accounts are constructed on a tripartite basis encompassing the charge, discharge and stock inventory. The charge lists the receipts of the book-keeper for

which he must render account; the discharge recites the items he has legitimately used that cash in purchasing. Auditors compared these charge and discharge totals, and pronounced judgement in what we would call a "balance", perhaps best named a "remainder". This was the respondeo of the accounting argument. If the total income was in excess of the discharge, the accountant was not expected to come up with this sum he owed -- unless he was leaving his office -- but carried it over to the next year as arrears. If the total expense was in excess this might be carried over to the next year, paid to him or more likely simply ignored, being, as we have suggested previously, often due to some of the expenses being not his monetarily.⁵

Appended to the argument could be bills, vouchers, warrants and other items used as proof of the correctness of entries in the charge and discharges; various pertinent additions such as chequerrolls, lists of creditors, etc. actually written on the account-roll; an ut supra, that is, an entry of further charges and discharges incurred after the balance was struck but before a new account was begun. At the end was the stock account, which summarized the flow of wealth in the household in terms of goods rather than money.

However, outwith the very general structure of charge, discharge and appendices, accounts varied widely, depending on who and what they represented, the time-span they covered, and the method by which incomes and expenditures were organized. Theoretically anyone who received a prest, or forwarding of money for expenses not his own,⁶ had to render an account arguing his legitimate use of that sum. Many accounts for individual servants who received such prests, from caterers to minor general-servants, survive, in especial among the Stonor letters and papers; and many references to long-lost ones can

be found in greater accounts. Most of our Lords or their valets also kept records of the master's pocket-monies. As well as these personal accounts kept for and by individuals in the household, records were also kept by and for departments, and for the household as a whole. Any department which necessarily had expenses and which had its own small treasury could draw up accounts defending their use of that money. Kitchens, wardrobes and stables most commonly had such funds, and various accounts survive for all these departments. Finally, the maior domi (or, in the case of small households, the master or mistress themselves -- Elizabeth Stonor⁷ and Robert Melton⁸ being examples) kept accounts of all household expenditures, both of receipts and expenses not entrusted to other departments or accountants but in their charge directly, and also inclusive of departmental and some personal accounts, which recorded household-wide receipt and expenditure. The form of these economic records varied, depending on for whom or what it accounted for.

Individuals, departments and maior domi often kept several different kinds of accounts, which covered various time-spans and organized charge and discharge into different sorts of categories. Firstly, memoranda of day-to-day transactions had to be kept, which usually ranged receipts and expenses in chronological order. This was a short-term account which was as much a memorandum as a financial record, and was compiled at regular, short intervals. These memoranda were used to draw up general summaries of transactions over a long period of time -- a year or half-year -- which tended to group charges and discharges by category rather than chronologically. We find that these different "daily" and "yearly" accounts, as we shall classify them, were used in all households in order to keep an

accurate record of and a careful check on the flow of valuables in the household.

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The "daily" account was the basis of all household accounting practices. Many contain entries for each day; others organized these accounts by the week, or, if their expenses were not constant (such as in the account of the master or his valet, who might not spend money daily), at more irregular intervals, whenever expenses occurred. The important thing about "daily" accounts is not the date of entry, but the arrangement by time-sequence and the compilation of the account at reasonably short intervals, as a memorandum rather than a summary. When compiled by individual servants, these chronological accounts tend to be very roughly drawn up, frequently on a single, oddly-sized sheet of paper or parchment; they often omit the charge altogether. Often they are merely a compendium of bills from individual shopping expeditions, such as those of William Stonor's servants Goddard Oxbridge and John Mathhewe.⁹ These private accounts are seldom organized within themselves, items being simply written one after another as they occur, sometimes without a modifying date. Such accounts actually survive among the papers of the Stonors and Henry Baron Stafford;¹⁰ but such are also cited as references of expenditure in the household accounts of the De Veres,¹¹ Cromwells,¹² and Luttrells.¹³ A private account by a servant of the third Stafford Duke is drawn up more formally: that of the Duke's valet, John Kirk.¹⁴ He enters receipts on separate pages at the beginning of his small account book, and follows these with a list of expenses according to a carefully followed form, entering under the appropriate date a description of the expense and, to its right, the cost.

Private accounts kept for and in some cases by the master of the household are referenced in the case of Hugh Luttrell¹⁵ and the 12th and 13th Earls of Oxford,¹⁶ but have actually survived only for William Stonor, his father Thomas, and Edward Duke of Buckingham. That of Kirk, described above, has been called an account for the third Duke himself, but it deals with expenses not particular to Kirk's master, such as the purchase of sheep. Valets did, however, keep accounts specifically for their lords, such as William Stonor's employee Richard Blackwell and Thomas Stonor's servant Robert Barry. Both William and his father also kept accounts in their own hand.¹⁷ These were all very roughly done on odd bits of paper, and in themselves seldom were balanced or contained a charge, being mere rough chronological lists of expenses. Blackwell alone was relatively neat in these compilations, and was careful to date all his entries. The private accounts of Edward Stafford, however, are, like his valet's, much more formal. He kept his accounts, of which twelve for the years 1517 to 1522 have survived, in small paper books. He kept three sorts: ten books of creditors and debtors¹⁸ seem to have been compiled over six-month periods and list, in chronological order of their incurrence, debts owed to and by the Earl. They detail who was involved, the reason for the debt, the amount involved and the date payment was due. Debts actually paid to him lie near the right margin, by him, to the left. Most transactions were entered twice: for both their loan and repayment. These are some of the few mediaeval household books which show the clear influence of double-entry book-keeping.

Edward's chancellor from 1514 to 1521, Robert Gilbert, also kept accounts for his master,¹⁹ mostly recording receipts rather than

expenses: he solicited numerous loans for the Duke, to be paid to Edward directly rather than given into the privy coffer, which Gilbert or an amanuensis recorded chronologically in this account for 1520-1521. Duke Edward also kept, in his own hand, books of his personal expenses ranging over a year.²⁰ These were neatly compiled in time-sequence, all entries separately dated. Two survive, for 1517, and for 1518-1519. Edward divided his accounts into monthly sections. He started receipts on one page, and his personal payments, such as alms, rewards, for clothes, to his barber, etc., a few pages after, entering later transactions under the appropriate headings, each one individually dated, with a description of the purchase or receipt, and listed the sums in the right margin. At the end of each month, he began new lists of receipts and expenses for the next period.

Personal daily accounts recorded the transactions made by individuals; whether private or for the household theirs was a limited scope. They tended to be small, informal documents involving limited amounts of money. Departmental accounts, on the other hand, dealt with larger responsibilities and greater charges, and correspondingly are suspected to have been more complex and more formal. A daily wine-cellar account was kept in Ralph Lord Cromwell's household;²¹ husbandry accounts for the home farms of Henry Baron Stafford²² and Margaret and William Cromwell;²³ privy coffer records for the 3rd Stafford Duke and his great-grandmother Anne;²⁴ stable accounts for Ralph Cromwell, the Staffords and De Veres;²⁵ and daily wardrobe books for the first and third Dukes of Buckingham.²⁶ Unfortunately we do not know a great deal about daily departmental accounting. We know that such documents existed from their being cited as evidence in various yearly accounts, but only the records of

the privy coffers of the third Duke of Buckingham (for 1520-1521) have actually survived, out of all the records of the five families herein considered. William Cholmley, the cofferer, compiled them in a neat clerical hand in much the same way as the Duke made up his own private accounts -- in monthly divisions of receipt and expense -- but Cholmley's addition and chronological order is more correct than the Duke's; he weighs charge and discharge and figures a remainder monthly.

The most elaborate daily accounts were drawn up for the expenses of the household as a whole, of edible and "foreign" (in the sense of non-food) items alike, compiled by the steward or treasurer. In the larger households the kitchen clerk was also enlisted and household-wide expenses were separated into two categories, food and non-food, the kitchen clerk accounting for the first category, the maior domus for the second. These food accounts were not departmental kitchen accounts; these would have recorded the buyings of servants of and for the kitchen alone, while household food accounts registered the purchase of all foodstuffs by householders, whether valets of the chamber, stable-grooms or caterers.

Records of non-food, household-wide daily accounts survive for Henry Lord Stafford and Margaret Beaufort,²⁷ the De Veres,²⁸ Ralph Lord Cromwell²⁹ and the first Duke of Buckingham.³⁰ Rewards, payments to messengers, wages, the buying of such items as stools, benches and forms, arras-cloth for hanging in the great hall, living clothes and other items of expense which were either the concern of the household in general or were not immediately applicable to any specific department, were paid for and recorded by the steward or the treasurer of the household. The non-food account for the household

of John De Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford, covering the year 1490-1491,³¹ is one of the best surviving examples of this sort of document. It was compiled in a simple fashion by Philip Fitzlowes, steward to the 13th Earl. A page of receipts listed in order of payment heads the document. The body of the account is devoted to expenses.

Fitzlowes entered his expenses chronologically, including the date with each entry, and the sum in the right margin; in the left he entered the name of he who paid the expense -- usually himself, but sometimes a deputy. About one-third of the days in the year have an entry.

All the accounts we have looked at so far have been relatively simple in form. Daily food accounts for the household, however, had to deal with considerable daily expenditure on a multitude of items, foodstuffs being the household's greatest expense and chief concern. When non-food payments were not accounted separately, these "daily journals", as they were often called, had even more material to record. Naturally the forms used to organize these records tend to be more complicated than those of personal and departmental accounts. Many have survived to demonstrate that households conceived a plethora of methods for organizing these books, and that they did so thoughtfully, experimenting and making changes and improvements. Daily journals are one aspect of the household in which we can trace, with some certainty, a developmental pattern (though we must be careful not to assume that all households developed at the same rates or at the same time). A very basic form for the daily food account appeared as early as the reign of Richard I;³² it is common to almost all household accounts. Numerous early examples of this form could be suggested: the accounts of Eleanor, Countess of Leicester

for 1265; for the Earl and Countess of Warrenne in 1240; for Joan de Valence, Countess of Pembroke, from 1284 to 1286.³³ We shall examine a rather later example, a document from the Stonor Papers — a daily food roll for 1378.³⁴ This single membrane, recounting ten weeks, was part of a larger account, written on a parchment roll. No receipts survive. In the left margin the date and weekday was entered, parallel to which was that day's entry of purchases in the body of the roll. While within this paragraph entry no headings are given and separate items are not begun on a new line, an order of expenses by type within the entry was observed. First is listed the bread, then ale, and finally meat, fish and poultry (in other accounts with headings entered under de carnibus³⁵) purchases, each with individual prices, or with the amount used de stauro, from stock. The accountant calculated totals for the week, but not for individual days. Most daily household accounts dating from the early fifteenth-century or before are highly similar to this Stonor account, differing only in such matters as the use of Saints' days rather than a numerical dating; sometimes listing purchase categories in a slightly different order; separating all stock use into its own separate category following purchases; and often computing a daily, but no weekly, total. In addition, some accounts also include non-food items, entered within the daily paragraph or on a list at the end of the account, as well as a list of receipts. The early Stonor account highlights the main points of daily accounts as they operated in a mediaeval household, and around which changes revolved: (1) the physical make-up of the daily account; (2) the division of the account into chronological segments; (3) entry by line or paragraph (items for a particular day either given each their own

line or run together in a paragraph); (4) a concept of some set order within the body of each segment; (5) the separation of items used from stock, from goods purchased; and (6) the division of food from non-food items. (5) and (6) create some sense of arrangement by category as well as by chronology. Daily account books can be further dealt with conveniently by talking about them by group, in terms of the last two points: those accounts which include all household-wide expenses, those which were devoted solely to food, and those which divided the recording of food expenditures into a book of fresh achats and a book of provisions.

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Numerous records of daily accounts, which dealt with all household expenses, exist; for the Luttrells in 1405-1406 and in the 1420's and 1430's;³⁶ for Henry Lord Stafford and Margaret Beaufort before 1468;³⁷ the Stonors in 1478-1479;³⁸ and for Anne first Dowager Duchess of Buckingham in 1465-1466.³⁹ The earliest Luttrell account, and that of the Stonors and Anne Stafford deserve closer attention. The Luttrell document is a roll several membranes long; the Stonors' occupies twenty-five pages of a forty-page notebook; Anne Stafford's is a great leather-bound folio volume of 126 pages. Nevertheless, they have many points of context in common. The Luttrell roll opens with an inscription or introduction which gives the name and title of the compiler, who he worked for, where he was, and the dates covered in his account -- one procedure common to all general, and some particular, daily financial records. It then proceeds with its entries of daily purchases. The Luttrell's household was a small one, and the record of its daily buyings, while regular, took little space. Purchases were entered in weekly

paragraphs, wherein days (not all seven of the week, but only those on which purchases were made, usually Sunday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday) were noted as headings within the paragraph, but not lineally arranged. Underneath these headings, entries were given in the order of carnibus first, followed by dairy products, grains, stable-expenses and certain non-food items such as candles, purchased or used from stock, with their prices. A total for each day was computed, and at the end of each weekly paragraph the accountant entered a septimania total. Sequences of twelve or thirteen weeks were grouped into four quarters, for each of which a sub-total was given. A final "great sum" was computed for this account, which covered a year in all from 28 June 1405 to 30 June 1406. As well as the daily entries, other accounts of the year's expenses were appended to the end of this Luttrell roll: an account of "pantry" (grain received from various estates without being paid for by the household, but assigned a value as stock expended in the baking of bread), and "buttery" (ale purchased by the household) expenditure, as the roll entitles them; "foreign expenses", foreign meaning non-food here; and a list of servant wages. These separate lists were ordered chronologically in themselves.

The Stonor account for 1478-1479,⁴⁰ though in book-form, is roughly similar to the earlier Luttrell account, consisting of several separate accounts as well as a central portion of daily entries. However, these separate lists are more important in the Stonor book; and while the Luttrell roll is a "fair copy", with no crossings-out and corrections, the Stonor documents is very roughly-kept indeed, with many blottings, notes and corrections. It reverses the order of the Luttrell accounts, beginning with the shorter, separate, categorized expenses: a page of various non-food expenses;

and several leaves devoted to the use of various types of grain -- wheat, barley and malt. These are followed by the daily accounts, organized in much the same way as the Luttrell roll, though the day replaces the week as the basis of the account's structure. The daily entries are followed by a chronological list of receipts for five quarters covered by the account.

The Luttrell roll and the Stonor book were fairly simple, compact and well-organized accounts, easily comprehended, which arranged for the recording of most of their household costs. When at the end of the year an account arranged by category rather than chronology of expense was compiled for them, they would have been relatively easy to use. The transactions of a large household, however, were in terms of sheer bulk and (usually) in greater diversity of items and sources much more difficult to register in a convenient form. In the rapidly expanding households of the greater lords, during the fifteenth century, the basic form of account had to be modified. One way of doing this, as we have seen, was to delegate accounting responsibility to numerous departments, and, for items not so easily paid for, divide transactions between a food and a general non-food account. The first Duke of Buckingham followed this procedure;⁴¹ but his widow Anne, as well as centralizing estate administration, kept together the accounting of household-wide transactions; producing a greater Liber Providenciis containing daily records, each of a year, one of which, for 1465-1466, has survived.⁴² This massive tome lists expenses not only chronologically but by category. It can be divided into five sections. It opens with a list of chronological receipts. Then, a section is devoted to categories -- cattle, sheep, wine, spices,

foreign-expenses, etc. — under which appropriate costs were listed chronologically, as they occurred. The third section consists of the usual pattern of daily expenses, though cast in a gargantuan mold. The Stonor book entered four or five days to a page, the Luttrell roll about three weeks to a membrane; Anne's Liber Providenciis allows one entire page per day (or, occasionally, two days). Under each date-heading, purchases and stock usage are marshalled under the divisions of panetria (breads), butelaria (ale and wine), and coquine (meat, fish, poultry, dairy produce, etc.), with a regular, weekly entry for the stabularia. The margins are filled with notes on gifts received, and who in the household purchased what from whom. As well as a daily sum, a total was drawn up for each month, to which index tabs were sewn for easy reference. After these chronological entries came a categorical page listing gifts received, organized by the month; and on the last page the full costs of all the categories were registered and added up to a total sum. Even the vouchers which served as evidence for various purchases were sewn into the binding of this monstrous volume.

This double system of entering each item, by day and by type, provided a way of checking on legitimate expenses, and also sent a long way towards the compilation of a yearly account by category. However, it must also have taken a considerable amount of time to keep up-to-date, and the Liber Providenciis is still a cumbrous document to handle. Most Lords, especially those with large households and those who moved about regularly, chose to divide the responsibilities of household-wide accounting. The households of the first and third Stafford Dukes saw the division of food and non-food items between two daily accounting books. The food account of 1507-1508, for the third Duke, survives.⁴³ Though modified, it shows a striking

resemblance to his great-grandmother's daily accounts book. Though his 1507-1508 book is somewhat damaged the bulk of it has survived. It accounts only for those recurrent non-food items such as candles which are part of daily expenditure, and of course all food purchase usage. The Duke's account also does not attempt any categorical lists (though it is possible that these pages have been lost). Except for the first and last weeks, which are in a different hand, the document devotes each page to a day's expenditure. Beneath the inscription of day and date the paragraph of expenses is broken into eight sections. Besides the Pantelaria, Butelaria, Stabularia and Coquine used by his great-grandmother, the third Duke through his accountant divided purchases and usage under the headings of Cellar (for wine), Chandlery, Hall and Chamber (fuel) and Libant' Extraneorum (livery given to strangers). In the right-hand margin the account-book notes the number of generosi, valetti and garçiones at each meal, lists the guests and the total of extra mouths, and those arriving and leaving the household that day. Tags are sewn in to mark the months; though no monthly totals are given, at the end of each tabbed section the monthly expenses of the Saucery (vinegar and mustard) and Guarderobarium (fruits and spices), for which daily use was difficult to measure, are given.

While less complex in its over-all concept and yet more structured in its actual daily record, the basic concept and form of the 3rd Duke of Buckingham's daily expenses book is strikingly similar to that of Anne's Liber Providenciis. Both generally devote a page to a day; both attempt a clearly-expressed organization of expenses, both chronologically and categorically (Anne by separate lists, Edward by including more categorical headings within each

day's entry); both use the margins for additional useful material related to expenses and the reasons for them. Both are monumental documents which attempt to encompass a wide area of accountability. Edward's is perhaps somewhat easier to use, though it still would have taken much time and effort in the compiling. But we must also remember that the 3rd Duke would not have known his great-grandmother. She died in 1480, when he was only two years old. Her influence upon him could only have been indirect. An examination of the daily account-books of Henry Lord Stafford and Margaret Beaufort perhaps helps to clarify the relationship between the above accounts.

While the dowager Duchess Anne did not travel much with her household, perambulating only around a limited area of Essex, Henry and Margaret were much more active individuals. Like Joan and Robert Radcliffe, they seem to have found the time involved in, and the sheer bulk of, a single volume of daily accounts too burdensome on a single busy official. They may also have found that the division of accounting responsibilities acted as a check on embezzlement and allowed for greater accuracy. Under Henry and Margaret, and also the Radcliffes, non-food items were separated from food expenses, and the latter were further divided between a book of fresh achats, which recorded items purchased daily, and a book of provisions, used to account for stock used each day. Daily Stafford/Beaufort fresh achats books are preserved for 1466-1467, 1467-1468, 1468-1469 and 1470-1471; and books of provision for 1468-1469 and 1470-1471.⁴⁴ A Radcliffe record of fresh achats in 1475 also survives.⁴⁵ The latter is a fairly simple compilation covering 20 February to 18 October (with a break from 7 March to

15 June) of the household's dwelling at Tattershall. The first page is devoted to receipts; then daily expenses are given, the date in the margin, the paragraphical entries ordered but not divided by headings. There are about five days per page, devoted solely to daily purchases. The last few pages contain a list of stock purchases (bought in bulk to be consumed over a long period, hence not a "fresh achat" or strictly a stock usage — items such as salted fish, grain, wine, etc.), non-food items, and a list of servants' wages. These last pages are not chronologically ordered in themselves and were added to this account in the hand of the auditor; they were not accounted by the kitchen clerk who compiled the fresh achats book, but came out of a separate book, probably one of provisions, summarized for use in compiling the year account on the convenient blank pages at the back of the surviving documents.

The excellent run of Stafford/Beaufort daily journals are compiled rather differently. Though dividing the accounting of fresh achats and stock, their accounts strongly resemble that of Henry's mother, the dowager Duchess Anne; but the series of journals also shows its own firm developmental pattern. The "fresh achats book" for 1466-1467 devotes one page to each day, on which the entries are set out lineally under the headings of Pantry, Buttery and Kitchen, with an occasional additional section entitled Chandlery, Poultry, Cellar, Bakehouse, or Stable. Notes on caterers and sources of purchase and of gifts given and received, are placed in the margins. A sum total for each month is given; separate pages are devoted to the categorical expenses of spices, necessaria and travelling costs; vouchers are sewn into the binding

at the end of the volume. Clearly the form of the day accounts is very close to that of Anne Stafford's Liber Providenciis; the occasional additional sections are strongly similar to those used in the day-book of the third Duke. Between 1467 and 1471 the Stafford/Beaufort day accounts of fresh achats acquired a tab index for the months, a categorical list of grain purchases, gifts, creditors, carriage costs and repairs to property. They also used, more frequently and regularly, the additional categorical headings noted above. We know less about the Stafford/Beaufort provision books. The two surviving ones, entitled Liber Expensarum, are very similar to the fresh achats volumes in form. They devote one page to each day as a rule and list stock expenses, both items used out of the existing reserves (to which values are assigned) and items purchased to add to the stocks, such as grains, live animals, etc. The categories used are: Pantry, Buttery, Cellar, Kitchen, Poultry, Chandlery, Marshalsea (stable) and Avenery (oats and barley for use in the stable). In the right margin the number of generosi, valetti and garçones at each meal are noted, and the names of the guests; in the left margin, a shortlist of headings and their totals are given. The proliferation of "departments" and the tabulation of household consumers remind one strongly of the third Duke's own daily book. It only remains to remind the reader that Margaret Beaufort was Edward of Buckingham's guardian.⁴⁶ The relationship between the accounts of three generations of Staffords then becomes manifest. It is a pity that the sparseness of other accounts does not allow us to see if this kind of continuing development was typical of households as a general rule.

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One final category of daily accounts yet to be considered, are

those which were intended especially for the foreign household. "Foreign" is used in household accounts in two ways: it can be intended to mean "foreign" items, or non-food buyings that are not regular purchases. But it can also be used to describe a state of being rather than an object: the state of being in transition. Thus we get a foreign, or travelling, household. The household in janticulum posed certain accounting problems. The carrying of heavy books was a tiresome burden; they might be lost or damaged in transit. The household was usually smaller and less organized on the road. It could use very little stock provision. Moreover, those servants left behind -- the skeleton staff of a normally inhabited castle -- also had to account for their own consumption, which was paid for by the household even in its general absence. Lords and their maior domi came up with numerous ways of handling these difficulties, satisfactory and unsatisfactory.

The very early De Vere roll for daily expenses in 1284⁴⁷ is compiled in janticulum, and also over stable periods of two or three weeks when the household stayed at one of its chief manors. Unfortunately the lack of the whole roll and of any other contemporary De Vere accounts makes it difficult to say whether this roll was inclusive of all the states of the De Vere household, or whether the great household, when stable for a month or more, kept its own accounts. The fifth Earl moved around so much that one is tempted to suggest that three weeks was as stable as his household could be, and that the foreign and great households differed only in their movement or lack of it; in which case one would suspect that, like those rolls for Eleanor of Leicester's 1265 household,⁴⁸ only one general household account was kept, inclusive

of the foreign and great households. This system could work for households which were either continually and wholly on the move, or those which were extremely sedentary. In both cases the household tended to be made up of largely the same members and the same structure whatever its stage of being; and the accounts in janticulum and in situ were easily combined. Anne Stafford and the Luttrells are prime examples of the very stable household. However when the Lord moved frequently but not continually, and when his riding household was a smaller, looser and differently proportioned band than his more stable establishment, the accounting of both together was less successful, and separate foreign rolls evolved, such as those mentioned in the year-rolls of the first Duke of Buckingham's household.⁴⁹ Two examples of different ways accounts were adapted to the household in janticulum can be cited: those of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, and those of Henry, Lord Stafford and Margaret Beaufort.

Though none survive, the year-accounts indicate that a separate roll for the foreign household was kept under Ralph Cromwell.⁵⁰ Moreover a unique document, detailing sixteen week's (not fully continuous) expenses of servants left as a skeleton staff at Tattershall,⁵¹ shows that actually three sets of accounts must have been kept: those for the great, foreign and skeleton households. That for the Tattershall servants is a fascinating survival. Kept in a small paper book, it was compiled very roughly, with little sense of form. Expenses from stock and purchases were recorded weekly, along with a list of food used each day, the amount remaining at the end of the week, and the servants' wages, computed daily but paid by the week. The roughness and lack of organization in this account — the various sub-totals cannot be related to any part of

the account, for instance, nor are grand totals ever attempted for the week — show that it was probably not made by a trained cleric, and perhaps indicates that it was never intended as a completely separate account system, but that its entries were later incorporated into the great or foreign roll.

Until 1468, Henry, Lord Stafford and Margaret Beaufort attempted to combine their foreign and great household accounts, but with some curious and confusing outcomes. Their fresh achats book for 1467-1468⁵² exhibits some of the convolutions required to account for travelling, great and skeletal establishments in a single volume. The time sequence runs from (1) March 1467 to October 1467, accounting for the great household at Woking and the skeleton household there after August. It then doubles back to (2) August 1467 and runs to November 1467, covering the foreign household in janticulum at various places; reverts to (3) October 1467, covering the skeletal and then the great household at Woking, continuing until June 1468; and then (4) switches back to April 1468, finishing at May 1468, during which time the foreign household was on the road. Though ultimately decipherable, the book is highly confusing to use, even when one has untangled the basic idea. The mobile Stafford/Beaufort household seems to have found it so, and after 1468 kept separate accounts for the foreign household, of which three, for 1468-1469, 1469-1470 and 1470-1471, survive.⁵³ The accounts were compiled by the clerk of the kitchen, who became clerk of the foreign household when in janticulum, the steward remaining at Woking. Unlike the highly structured accounts of great households, these are very simple, resembling the "basic form" of the early De Vere and Stafford accounts,⁵⁴ with short entries for each day sans headings, (though the items are

ordered, as bread first, then ale, then meats and odd expenses); and with foreign expenses included in each day, and also both stock and fresh purchases and expenditure accounted together. The smallness and loose structure of the riding household, and its lack of dependence on stock foods, made this kind of foreign accounting possible. It is likely that most daily accounts for riding households similarly reverted to this basic form of registering transactions, which was originally developed out of the early, relatively small households such as are shown in the accounts of Eleanor de Montfort and the Earl and Countess de Warenne,⁵⁵ which travelled with great frequency.

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When the time period which the day-account covered was over and the last chronological entry was made, the account became evidence, data, fodder for the annual argument of the accountant and auditor. First of all the day-book itself could be audited, either by a clerk hired for the occasion, another household cleric or maior domus besides the keeper of the day-account, or in some cases the Lord himself. The 3rd Duke of Buckingham, for instance, examined and signed with his own hand nearly every entry in his cofferer's account for 1519.⁵⁶ Any wrong sums, illegal expenses (i.e., those the auditor did not accept as true expenses of the household) and innacurate entries were supposed to be revised. Just when the audit took place is hard to ascertain. In some cases it may have been checked daily, as was planned in Edward IV's royal household; certainly the 13th Earl of Oxford signed nearly every page of his household's day-book for 1506-1507.⁵⁷ In many cases, especially when the accountant was an outsider, the audit was done at the end

of the fiscal year used by the household; but whether before or after the year-account was drawn up, is difficult to say. It seems most likely, however, that the accountant first drew up his yearly record from the day-book, submitting the latter as evidence for the former; and that the auditor checked out the day-book item by item as he traced back to it expenses listed in the yearly account.

Thus the day-book became primarily the authority used by the accountant in, and also the source of his compilation of, a yearly account. This was a summary of the year's receipts and expenses, containing much or little detail, which related transactions by category rather than chronologically. As a record and as an argument it was generally preferable to a daily journal. It was first of all easier to use and to store than a bulky book, its entries being condensed; as an argument its form was perhaps more obvious and coherent; as a record of a year's expenses, the next caterer would have found it easier to use the yearly categories when he needed to know how many stock cattle to buy. Many more year-accounts survive more completely than day-books; probably because the latter became extraneous after the audit, while the former remained useful and relatively easy to keep.

The compilation of the year-account from the day-book was no small task, however. As we have seen, most households in the fifteenth-century carried out some categorization within the daily accounts which would have made the task easier. The separate lists in Anne Stafford's Liber Providenciis are the most extreme example. In some households, however, records which, like year-accounts, summarize receipts and expenses by category, were kept over periods of less than a year. The 3rd Stafford Duke's cofferer,

and the households of his great grandmother,⁵⁸ and the Margarets Luttrell and Cromwell,⁵⁹ compiled half-yearly "views", or categorical summaries of the transactions for that period, which were in form and intent like small yearly accounts. Events were fresher in the mind, the vouchers less likely to be lost, the amount to be compiled smaller over a six- than a twelve-month period. Since so many households took Michaelmas as their fiscal year, when rents were also due, a six-monthly survey removed some of the pressure and paperwork from the presiding officials at that busy time. The Quarter was another major division of the fiscal year. Like the seasons, standing accounts and servants' wages came due every three months. As has been noted, the Luttrells were careful to record quarterly total expenditures,⁶⁰ as were some other households; and quarterly bills for the Stonors survive among their papers.⁶¹ Many households drew up a quarter-roll for a particular category of expenses: servants' costs and wages. These chequerrolls covered the amounts due to servants for their wages, and also what they might be owed in expenses of catering, and what they themselves owed out of prests unspent.

Few households, however, use the month, as we do now, as an important fiscal division and time for a view of accounts. The Staffords are the notable exception. We noted that the dowager Anne, in her Liber Providenciis, made monthly totals and also some monthly categorical expense accounts. The household of Henry Lord Stafford and Margaret Beaufort also saw compiled a unique, rather curious document recording monthly expenses.⁶² We have mentioned the 15th century tendency for households to formalize their accounts, creating complex, detailed structures within which to register

transactions; and in particular the move to linearize items and the growth of categorical divisions within the chronological entries of day-accounts. In some cases this proliferation of structure resulted in a kind of diagrammatical, almost pictorial form of account which, while common enough now, was a new way of representing receipts and expenditure in 15th and 16th century England. The month-by-month compilation of expenses by category which survives for the Stafford/Beaufort household of 1466-1467 is such a diagrammatical document. It is essentially a grid. In the topmost row of squares, categories of expenses -- food and non-food -- are written (thirty one in all, from beer to horseshoe nails to eels), and in the row of squares running from top to bottom on the extreme left of the document, the relevant months from January 1466 to March 1467 are entered. As in any such grid rendering, the remaining blocks contain information relevant to both the category of the top square under which they fall, and the month of the square to their far left -- in this case, the total expenditure and/or receipt of that item for that month. To the right, and at the bottom, the sum total of each month and each item respectively was intended to be entered. This account was never completed, the last few months not being filled in; nor do other examples exist. It was perhaps not detailed enough for use, as it does not include individual purchases or any corroborative detail; it may have been too troublesome to keep up, though it would seem to have been a marvellous potential tool in the creation of the final account for the year. The 3rd Duke of Buckingham kept a less complicated monthly "declaration of expenses". Some of these survive for 1517. They give, in great detail, categorized expenses in each month, probably compiled at the end of each lunar

period. Similar yearly and half-yearly declarations also exist for the years 1517-1520, which categorize expenses over all twelve or six months, without chronological divisions. These are essentially drafts for the discharge of a year-account, probably compiled from a monthly declaration similar to that for 1517.⁶³

The year-account proper, which by its categorical summary of the fiscal period's transactions superseded all other records of that space of time, assumed like the daily journal a basic form at some very early date, which remained within it through all the elaborating experimentation of the later 15th century. Some early examples survive, for Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester (1307-1308),⁶⁴ The Talbots of Blakemere (1394),⁶⁵ and Sir John Cobham (1408).⁶⁶ All year-accounts were constructed in three sections: charge, discharge and stock inventory. First, the accountant listed the charge, or the receipts granted to him for which he had to account sufficiently to his master. He consulted his chronological records and categorized the receipts listed therein, usually as either recept' denar' (sometimes divided into cash receipts from lands and receivers, and those from the Lord) or recept' forinsec' — receipts of cash and foreign receipts, the latter being goods received, or money received from the sale of household goods. A more complicated series of divisions was undertaken in some year-accounts. Also included in the charge was the category of arrears, arreragia. From the French en arriere, used absolutely it means simply "that which is behind". We usually use it in relation to money, as mediaeval accountants employed the term; but we tend to think of it as a debt remaining unpaid, and conceive of it as an expense, not a receipt. The arrears, however, consist of those monies from the previous year which the accountant had failed to balance with a discharge. Hence

he was still charged with this "debt" as he should still have that money in hand, as it was not handed over at the end of the previous year's accounting unless the clerk was leaving his master's employ. Even if, the previous year, he had spent over rather than under the sum with which he was charged, the category of arrears was still entered and nulla registered as its total.⁶⁷ After entering his receipt categories and giving sub-totals, for each one, the accountant computed the sum of the whole charge; after which he began the second part of the year-account, the discharge.

The discharge was a categorical register of expenses which the accountant claimed as legitimate expenditures for the use of the cash with which he was charged, and which he backed up with the evidence of his chronological records, vouchers, bills, indentures and other documents. The categories of the discharge vary widely, from account to surviving account. In some all food purchased was listed in a single huge paragraph; in others it was broken down by department, such as bread, pastry and grains under Panetria; or categories were made by food type, such as bread, grain, sheep, cattle, etc.; or even more specifically, viz.: bread, rye, wheat, barley, lambs, mature sheep, calves, oxen, etc. Though not as common as the arreragia, a category called excessum sometimes headed the discharge. It is the opposite of arrears. If expenses exceeded receipts in the previous year the amount then technically owed the accountant was either paid him, or simply ignored: probably because in many cases the excessum was due to the accountant entering in his discharge sums for items within his jurisdiction but paid not out of his charge but out of the prest of a caterer.⁶⁸ But when the accountant remained unpaid he might enter an excessum under the discharge, because it was

still owed him by the source of his receipts. Finally, as in the charge, a total for each category was entered, and a final sum for all of the discharge. The charge and discharge were then balanced, or to more properly describe it their totals were compared and analysed, and the arrears or excessum for next year computed. Often, additional entries of expense and charge were added, after the balance was done; usually of items forgotten by the accountant when making up his document, occasionally transactions made after the actual compilation of the year-account, but in the interregnum of two weeks or so, when accounts were being audited, before a new daily record was begun. These ut supra were computed to modify the excessum or arreragia.

The charge and discharge were usually registered on the front or verso side of a paper or parchment roll, and formed the accountant's argument, videtur and sed contra. The inventory or account of stock written on the dorse of most yearly accounts was based on, but separate from, the charge/discharge. Rather than an argument, it was a record of the flow of goods in the household. It was divided into quite-specific categories, as in the third example of discharge groups given above, under each of which were three sections, microcosms of the charge, discharge and remainder of the verso: (1) the amounts of the item (not its price) received, whether by purchase or receipt, and the total; (2) the amounts expended, and their total; and (3) the amount remaining, if any. This stock inventory was a useful record in determining how much food to purchase or how many horsehoes by showing the average rate of expenditure over a year. This gave the caterer an idea of the quantities in which he needed to think, and let him know what to buy and what was not needed. Even more than in modern pantries, it must have been possible to "lose" quantities of

goods stored out of sight in barn or chamber. Today's stores compile January inventories with much the same aims in mind.

The stock account was probably drawn up from the year and day records as well as a tour of the storage places. As such, though separate from the yearly account, it was also dependent on it. Therefore the stock and year records could act as checks, one upon the other. For instance, in the Luttrell account for 1424-1425,⁶⁹ the yearly account lists in the discharge two pipes of wine purchased, a legitimate expense. The stock inventory also tells us that another two pipes were "received" by the household, which remained from last year, and that two pipes of these four were used, and two pipes remain. The charge and discharge do not register remains of goods carried over or their actual use, only their receipt or their purchase, as these cannot easily be rendered in terms of cash receipt and expense, and because were they so entered, they would be accounted twice. For instance, if a pipe of wine was entered in the discharge for its purchase, and also then for its use, twice its actual value would be registered. The charge/discharge, then, was interested in the flow of cash, as in a daily fresh achats book; the stock inventory recorded the movement of goods, rather like a daily record of provisions.

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This was the basic form of every yearly household account: a categorical summary of transactions in cash and in kind. However, variations on this simple structure abounded, though less than for the day-account. Many such differences are connected with the area for which the yearly record accounted: whether personal, departmental, or household-wide. Obviously for each of these sorts of documents the categories must differ. Sometimes, however, the nature of the

concern accounted for also affected the way the record was put together at a basic level, or encouraged one sort of categorization over another. While several quotations from personal year-rolls exist in household-wide accounts, such as that of the 3rd Duke of Buckingham's secretary,⁷⁰ few have actually survived: in our five families, only one, that of Reginald Seynesbury for 1421-1422.⁷¹ Seynesbury was a Luttrell servant from 1405 to 1423. He listed his receipts from Sir Hugh's son and heir John, followed by a rather confused list of very roughly-categorized expenses -- grain purchases (including non-grain foods), food bought (including more grain) and livery bread catered. No stock account is given as Seynesbury had no responsibilities for stock food. Though Seynesbury in his eighteen years' service to the Luttrells proved to be highly inefficient, losing grain and tallow and even a horse, the very loose structure of his account with its wide-ranging, ill-followed categories, may not be due simply to his inadequacy. Few individual servants received prests large enough for them to have paid personally for really massive shopping expeditions, or to necessitate highly organized accounts, especially as these were incorporated into the yearly household-wide records -- probably why so few have survived. That for Edward, Duke of Buckingham's secretary covers five years -- 1502 to 1507, and is more of a view than a year-account. But it has the same haphazard categorization of Seynesbury's account, leaving out so much that the ut supra and auditor's notes are fuller than the discharge.

Much the same could be said of departmental accounts. Kitchen records survive for Ralph Cromwell (1444-1446)⁷² and the 3rd Duke of Buckingham; for the latter, guarderobe, privy coffer, and chequer-roll year-accounts are also still in existence.⁷³ Kitchen accounts,

concerning as they did all or most of the entire household's food supply, are hardly departmental in content; in form they are quite close to the great household-wide year-accounts and should be discussed with them. Other surviving departmental accounts exhibit some of the greatest variations found in year-rolls, due to their special requirements. The Stafford chequerrolls for 1517-1518 and 1519-1520 are a case in point.⁷⁴ These consist of a list of servants by position, broken into such categories as capitum officii, gentleman-ushers, clerks, etc., arranged lineally (i.e., each position receiving its own line instead of being written into a paragraph), with the name of the holder of the office, his wage and his rights to personal servants and horses. Because of the linear arrangement, positions, names, wages, etc. are lined up in vertical columns, and the total wages cost, number of servants' servants, and horses can be shown almost pictorially. These chequerroll accounts, while they show wage expenses — a kind of discharge — are not argumentative in the way of most accounts. They contain no receipts to balance the expenses, no final balance, and of course no stock account. Compiled by the clerk of the chequerroll for the Treasurer, who made the actual payments, the chequerroll represents no separate organization or individual who received a prest, and are therefore more in the nature of information sheets.

The other departmental accounts are not so idiosyncratic, being true to the orthodox accounting form; but they produce some interesting variations. Those by the clerk of the wardrobe in 1503-1504 and 1516-1517 for the 3rd Stafford Duke⁷⁵ are constructed along the traditional lines of receipt, expenditure and stock accounts. The great quantities of many different kinds of cloth, as well as armour, harness, paper, wax, etc. and the value of each item

individually and corporately have caused the accountant to create ten general categories within which a strict order of items is observed, and for each of which highly detailed entries are given, including all individual purchases with dates and amounts. Instead of being organized like an outline, with category-titles being indented under the general heading of receipt or expenses and their entries being indented under them, a system of brackets is used, in which the organization appears as much horizontal as vertical. In the receipts, the general title recepta is given a quarter of the way down the roll on the left, at the equipoint of a bracket embracing categorical receipt titles, in their turn at the equipoint of a bracket enclosing a paragraph entry. To the right of this entry another enclosing bracket has at its equipoint the sub-total for that category. These in turn are enclosed by yet another bracket pointing to the total of all receipts. The same system is followed in the expenses, the balance being conducted behind a bracket surrounding the sum totals of charge and discharge. This form works vertically as well as horizontally, the sums being easily compared as they run in a column to the right of, rather than underneath, the paragraphs to which they pertain. If one can spread out this massive roll on an adequate surface, the diagrammatical effect is quite useful, though difficult to comprehend when read on microfilm, or only vertically, as one would a normal book or roll. Interestingly, the stock account for the 1503-1504 document is formed in much the same way, not only in terms of the use of brackets, but by its arrangement in a charge- discharge-balance form in toto rather than by category. Goods remaining from last year, goods received, goods used and goods remaining this year are all compiled separately, with

all the goods categories repeated in each section. As a system of inventory it is not very helpful, creating much needless repetition and making difficult the comparison of, for instance, the amount of red silk received and that used.

Kitchen and household-wide rolls tend to be less idiosyncratic. Separate kitchen year-rolls were employed by the households of Ralph Cromwell,⁷⁶ the de Veres⁷⁷ and the 3rd Stafford Duke,⁷⁸ the same lords who also divided their day accounts into food and non-food books. These were invaluable aids for the treasurer in the making of the great household roll, as they did well over half the ground-work for him. Those which survive show highly detailed categorization, using in the discharge individual types of grain, meat, etc., and in the actual entries considerable information is given, with individual buyings priced and dated. The household-wide accounts compiled with the help of these kitchen-rolls may include also these detailed categorical titles, but tend to give little or no information beyond the total costs in the actual entries, usually referring the reader to the separate kitchen account for details of purchase. An extreme example is that by George Fishlake, steward of the household of Ralph Cromwell in 1450-1451.⁷⁹ He entered all household expenses as a single lump sum, with no descriptive entries, referring the reader to the kitchen and other personal and departmental year-rolls.⁸⁰ Fishlake's system of account is odd in other ways. He tried to correlate expense and receipt categories to some extent, so that in the discharge, expenses are divided into categories of those discharged by sale, those received, those used from last year's remains, and those purchased; which match the charge categories of kitchen sales, gifts and stock receipts, and cash receipts. It looks a bit like a primitive conception of double-entry. Though at first quite confusing,

once deciphered it is easy to follow. The ability to refer to other year-rolls for details made this sort of form possible. Had the detail of the kitchen account been included, the system would have been highly complicated, with division into categories by type of object necessary, as well as by source/origin.

Some households gave very scanty information in their year-rolls even when lacking individual departmental accounts to be cited. Henry, Baron Stafford, listed only category title and sum totals; his father's uncle, Henry Lord Stafford, had done the same.⁸¹ Unfortunately we lack any yearly household-wide or kitchen rolls of the third Duke which might have shown us the reasoning behind this policy. What we do have for him are the aforementioned declarations of expenses,⁸² which are essentially a detailed discharge. If the Duke's uncle and son kept a similar compilation they may not have needed a really detailed yearly household-wide account; their short summarizing year-rolls could have served, as it were, as mere notes for the argument between master and accountant.

The majority of surviving household year-accounts, however, follow the pattern of charge, discharge and stock account, categorizing purchases and receipts by their nature in some detail. The main variations in these occur in categorization. The groupings used by accounts are never exactly the same, even when we compare two from the same household for succeeding years. Nevertheless we can note three essential methods of creating categories in more or less detail. The least complicated is also the least common in the fifteenth century; we see it in the five Luttrell accounts and in a number of earlier, 14th and 13th century ones.⁸² In these the charge is usually only divided into two categories; cash, and stock and sale; the

discharge is organized into three: food expenses, "foreign" or non-food costs, and wages. The stock account, however, is categorized by individual item, as in wheat, rye, cattle, calves, etc., in these and all sorts of year-accounts. Those of the Luttrells are kept with great accuracy, providing an excellent check against the charge and discharge. The early year-rolls of Humphrey, 1st Duke of Buckingham (1438-1439, 1444-1445, 1452-1453, 1454-1455) and those surviving for his widow Anne (1463-1464, 1465-1466) are organized somewhat differently in the charge/discharge.⁸³ The charge is broken down into specific sources of receipt: from the privy coffer, from individual receivers, the receiver-general, sales, and stock receipts. The discharge groups expenses into fictional departments — breads, pastry and grain, for example are listed in the category Panetria, ale and wine under Butelaria. These Stafford accounts also include additional lists written on the year-roll which are pertinent to the accountant's argument, such as lists of creditors, of debtors, and chequerrolls.

The year-roll of the 12th Earl of Oxford for 1431-1432,⁸⁴ on the other hand, dispenses with trying to group purchases and enters as headings the bare name of the item — hence wheat, rye, and barley have their own categories, as in the stock account, instead of being inaccurately grouped under Panetria. By 1452-1453 the first Duke of Buckingham's account⁸⁵ began to itemize expenses in this manner as well, and also to introduce linearism and diagramming into the stock-accounting form. The stock entry for spices in the 1454-1455 account,⁸⁶ for example, lists each different spice and the amount bought on a new line rather than running them into a single paragraph, and also used a bracketing system to organize their receipt, use and remains horizontally as well as vertically.

Regardless of the categorical system used, some kind of set order prevailed among the general listing of expenses. Wheat, whether grouped with all other food purchases, under Panetria or alone, almost always opened the discharge; grains are usually followed by wine and ale, alcohol by meats. In a sense, once one has seen one standard year-roll, one can find one's way about all others. The order used is also very similar to the bread/ale/"carn" divisions of the basic daily account. Indeed one finds that households in which this typical order of the day-account was somewhat rearranged, as in that of the Luttrells for 1405-1406, where carn' is listed first, the same reverse order was followed in the year-account.⁸⁷

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This chapter has attempted to explain the methodology of account-keeping in mediaeval and noble households. We have noted the persistence of basic forms of book-keeping in our period, which are highly conservative, showing little sign of the influence of double-entry and other revolutions in commercial accounting; as well as trends in the direction of a more systematic and detailed categorization, and a move towards an almost pictorial presentation of accounts, which developments come to a fuller fruition in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But this methodology was a means, a way of expressing and recording the flow of wealth in cash and kind in, out and within the household. We seek to understand accounting systems for themselves, but also in preparation for the examination of the income and expenditure of the mediaeval noble household.

Chapter VI

Income

The mediaeval noble household existed to create an environment which its master found congenial, and to provide for his needs and comforts. We tend to think of those needs fulfilled by the household as domestic in nature, and indeed they were, primarily. But these homely requirements sometimes had larger consequences for mediaeval society as a whole; and the household was on many occasions called to wider duties, far-reaching in their implications. When we look at the household from an economist's point of view, we discover not only how a noble's establishment was funded, and how and where it spent money, but also something of its master's estate management system; his role in national, international and especially local trade; we discover important information about cottage industries, and factors of supply and demand. Our knowledge of the noble household and mediaeval economics is particularly aided by our source material: accounts are essentially economic records, and tell us most directly about money and its movements. The study of household economics is best divided, as in both modern and contemporary book-keeping, into income and expenditure. While the nature of household activity was directed more towards the spending of money rather than its garnering, the mediaeval noble household was always involved in the collection, storage and creation of income, both in order to perpetuate itself and to aid its master's wealth.

By the fifteenth century, most nobles had diversified the sources of their income; but chiefly their wealth, as their power, came from their lands. By the early fifteenth century most nobles leased the majority of their holdings, and lords chiefly enjoyed the

profits of tenancy; but the benefits of certain estate resources, somewhat less-frequently leased, came more immediately to the owner, such as the sale of wood, milling tolls, the profits of brickworks (for the de Veres), forges and warrens, and other assets. It is a modern platitude of landholding history that by the mid fifteenth century a significant number of rents originally due in labour or in kind were commuted to cash payments, and that the old demesne farm lands were often rented, rather than cultivated for direct profit by the lord.¹ However, household accounts in many cases show evidence which add modifications to this picture. In all our five families we find examples of demesne farm profits, in particular from the home estate; and of food items, especially grain; obtained from estates held by the master, without payment. The Luttrells were owed a total of twelve barrels of ale a year from those ale-brewers in Dunster who were their tenants; their rentiers in Minehead paid a rent of fish. The Luttrell estates at Carhampton and Kilton yielded enough wheat and malt respectively to provide the household with all its needs for these grains, either from rent paid in kind or by demesne produce. The demesne at Dunster itself, called the Park, was and is small, and was mainly used as grazing for household stock animals, but its warrens, dovecots and small vineyard supplied the Luttrells with all the rabbits and pigeons consumed, and a small amount of their wine.² While a particularly good example, the Luttrell household was not unique in this respect; both Stonor and Tydd were farming as well as manor-houses, and we find all our families reaped profits in goods from their estates, either from demesne produce or rent in kind. Rather less incidence of profits in kind occurred for the de Vere and Stafford families, though

examples are not wholly lacking: one-tenth of the de Veres' wine came from their own vineyards,³ and three-fourths of Stonor peas and malt from their own central estates.⁴

Most noble estates were by this time administered by a chain of ministers whose organizations, while changing somewhat from noble to noble, were in the main variations on a common theme. Estate administration has been the subject of eminent historians and we need not deal extensively with it here.⁵ Usually each individual manor was run by a steward and/or a bailiff; the former generally presided over the manorial court while the latter dealt chiefly with the upkeep and the rent-payment on both demesne and tenanted lands and resources. If an aristocrat was particularly rich in lands he often divided them up into (usually geographical) districts, each with its own general steward, and a receiver who supervised the collection of rents, dues and fines and the audit of the accounts of estate ministers in this area. Finally a receiver-general, and sometimes a great steward of estates as well, were charged with the legal and financial administration of all the lord's lands. Receivers and receivers-general, and occasionally other estates ministers, usually also acted as treasurers of land profits, establishing several repositories for their employer's wealth. This is an admittedly simplistic picture of a complex topic, but is the essential core of most arrangements and will serve our purposes. As has been mentioned, numerous variations occurred; one of the most common is the dropping of the second stage, when the lord had few or very compact estates, so that the officials of individual manors reported direct to the receiver-general. Several frequent variations involve the household and householders, and it is with these that we

are concerned.

In several cases the household contained the central estate-administration agency for its master's holdings. This could come about in a number of ways. Firstly, a household officer or department could be this agency. Margaret and John Luttrell, from 1429,⁶ combined the office of receiver-general and steward of the household in one man, Robert Ryvers. While he held two positions, two titles, got two salaries and kept separate accounts for each office, so that no real fusion of household and estate administration occurred, we find that the household had readier access to cash and that householders were more commonly used for routine estate business, than before 1429. In another example, Anne, 1st Dowager Duchess of Buckingham, entrusted her privy coffers with not only her personal funds but with the reception of much of her other income, including estate monies.⁷ Her receivers became, essentially, agents for the cofferer. As with the Luttrells, this did not give the household as a whole direct access to or responsibility for estate profits -- the cofferer did fuse the roles of private and estate treasurer, but his had always been a closed department, in a sense, over which the lord alone had much control -- but the household treasurer was better able to obtain funds and again householders were called upon to do some estate business.

In the case of lords with small or compact holdings, we find that the master himself acted as his own receiver-general. The best example is that of William and Margaret Cromwell. Margaret, and one assumes William when he was in England, rode around their holdings twice yearly to collect monies, audit accounts and generally oversee their lands. On these journeys they took householders with

them as aides, as rent-collectors, as witnesses, and sometimes as auditors (their chaplain, Dominus John de Kyghley, served as an auditor in 1419-1420); they deposited their rent monies with their household steward.⁸ Neither the Stonor nor the William and Margaret Cromwell households were ever short of cash; but their servants were also worked doubly as householders and minor estate agents. Finally, we sometimes find that a servant receiver-general lived near or in the household, though without being a householder or having household duties. Hugh Luttrell's receiver-generals lived in the village of Dunster or in Dunster Castle itself;⁹ the de Vere receivers commonly dwelt in or around Castle Hedingham.¹⁰ Once again, we find in these households no positive power in estate management, but easier access to cash and more frequent involvement in estate duties.

Even in those households where the central estate agency lay outside its bounds, servants were sometimes called upon to perform chores for that agency: most usually the collection of rent in kind, or of rents due from the estate in which the household was dwelling. Therefore, in a minor way, almost all households were involved in estate administration. This system held both advantages and problems for household, master and manorial ministers. Shortage of cash was a problem in many households; the receiver's travels often took him far away from the master for long periods, and unless he kept a repository within the household the latter was often embarrassed for want of funds. The establishment of this estate officer and his treasury within the household could ameliorate this difficulty considerably; the receiver and his funds were both easier to reach. The Luttrells' incomes and expenditures balanced more readily than

those of Ralph Cromwell, while William and Margaret Cromwell's steward usually spent less than half of the income he recorded (in 1417-18, for instance, receipts were £101 19s 7½d, while expenses totalled only £41 11s 4½d).¹¹ The closeness of receiver and household also provided the Lord with more control over his income; it and its administration were more readily available to his scrutiny, and he could use trusted householders to report on his estates when they were involved in manorial duties. Embezzlement and simple neglect by local officers could be more readily brought to his attention through householders so used. In addition, householders were an additional labour-source for the receiver.

These advantages, however, were counterbalanced and in some cases outweighed by several problems. The receiver performed his job by moving from estate to estate over the year; he can seldom have settled in one place for long. This counteracted, to some extent, the advantage of having him in or near the household; he was not always as available as he might seem to have been at first. If he was a householder as well, his dual jobs presented considerable difficulties: he could not perform householding duties from a distance. Even in the case of a stabilized estate agency such as the Stafford privy coffer for which receivers outside the household were "runners" who did the necessary travelling,¹² the problem of reconciling household and estate responsibilities arose, from the sheer volume of work generated by both sets of duties. The 3rd Stafford Duke finally established a privy privy-purse¹³ to handle his personal funds due to the involvement of the privy coffer with his estates. For lords with small or compact holdings and uncomplicated households, these problems could be surmounted. John and Margaret

Luttrell's combined receiver/steward did not have an unduly large, complex or active household to administer; and while the Luttrells owned considerable property it was extremely compact, and he could, and did, ride round most of it in the space of two or three days. But in large households whose masters held scattered lands, household involvement in estate administration and income collection was necessarily limited, though never entirely cut off.

We have noted that in the fifteenth century, lower rents encouraged nobles to search for other sources of profit in order to maintain their income levels. The sale of agricultural produce was an honourable and at least moderately profitable method of money-making, and a necessary outcome of farming; lords had long put to profit the resources of the demesne farm and other assets. The Staffords not only supplied themselves with wood, coal and other fuels from their holdings, but also sold these at considerable profit to tenants and local farmers;¹⁴ the Stonors in 1471 sold thirty-seven quarters of grey peas and barley grown on their demesne lands at Horton Kirkby, again probably to tenants and other local people.¹⁵ The growth of English cloth manufacture and export encouraged some masters to devote their property to the raising of sheep rather than farming it out to tenants. In especial, the Stonors garnered much annual income (at Calais in July of 1478 Sir William Stonor sold 11½ sacks and 14 cloves [4,284 pounds] of wool for £147 12s 8d)¹⁶ from the sale of wool, from their extensive flocks in the Cotswolds and Chilterns as well as from wool they had bought from other sheep farmers. Investment in trade was, indeed, extremely lucrative; and numerous lords invested in internal and overseas speculations, both to obtain desirable goods cheaply and to make cash

profits. They did not, of course, set up shops. Hugh Luttrell, while Mayor of Bordeaux (an office he held from 1404), bought quantities of French wine which he shipped to Dunster in his private barge, The Leonardo. Some was consumed by the household, but in 1418, at least, about six barrels were sold by the barge Master, Philip Clapton, in Bristol.¹⁷ Sir William Stonor handled much of his wool deals personally, going to both the Calais and London staples in the 1470's. His marriage to Elizabeth Ryche brought him into a circle of wealthy London merchants who proved to be invaluable commercial partners; but after Elizabeth's death he married into nobler blood, and kept in touch with his useful in-laws only through servants, who handled the business end of his wool trade. We also find the third Stafford Duke investing funds with a Flemish merchant, though he did so in a small way, privately, and through several intermediaries.¹⁸ The household was sometimes involved in its master's trading ventures but its closeness to him prevented much involvement, due to factors of time, lack of expertise, and more pressing duties. However, Edward Duke of Buckingham organized his Flemish trade arrangement through his private secretary; the Stonors used householders as London agents in the wool trade;¹⁹ and of course if the Lord's chief income collection agency was in the household, such as the Stafford privy coffer, personal servants were likelier to be involved. On the whole, however, estate ministers or specially hired agents who understood their business thoroughly, handled most of the master's trading interests.

Public office was a more common way of diversifying income; the 13th Earl of Oxford, among others, added to his already impressive fortune through his many public offices under Henry VII.²⁰ But

office was not necessarily always lucrative, and might even cost money. Annuities, salaries, and gifts from the Crown were frequently offset by the considerable expenses of such office, such as the 1st Duke of Buckingham's role as captain of Calais and lieutenant of the Marches (of Calais), from 1442 to 1451; he paid well over and above the salary due him in wages to soldiers who had gone nearly six months without pay, and never received back from the Crown any full repayment.²¹ On a somewhat smaller scale, Thomas Stonor I's periods as sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire were much more lucrative politically than financially.²² Whatever the profits, however, households contributed to these their masters' offices in numerous ways. Hugh Luttrell used his Dunster householders to purvey and transport goods for his troops in France, and to carry messages to court concerning developments within his responsibility there;²³ likewise Stonor servants under Thomas II were enlisted to help gather royal income from the King's holdings in Oxfordshire.²⁴

Finally, Lords obtained income in numerous other ways: through gifts, gambling, borrowing and pawning, or selling personal items. For some lords, noticeably the 3rd Earl of Oxford, gifts formed enough income to be entered separately as a category on accounts.²⁵ Usually in the form of food, sometimes of cloth or jewels, giving gifts was an important social function, sometimes with political implications. Gifts could be a way of currying favour or extending protection. A popular and powerful man was likely to receive much, both from his peers and from his clients, especially around Christmas time. Gifts, being objects, were usually handed over to the guarderobes or kitchen clerk of most households, to record and put

to use, or to sell. Gambling was a matter of the Lord's privy purse and seldom involved much cash, but all in our five families, Ladies and Gentlemen alike, indulged in it; and chamber-servants such as the 3rd Stafford Duke's John Kirk were often called upon to pay gambling debts out of their own pockets.²⁶ This same Duke used his chamber-servants to pawn and also to sell family plate when he was particularly in need of cash. He was also the only one of our lords to resort to borrowing on a large scale, deriving in 1518-19 nearly £2,344 through the efforts of his Chancellor, aided by his almoner and other chamber-servants.²⁷

We have examined briefly the various sources of wealth available to a lord in the fifteenth century, and also the relatively minor part of the household in the garnering of that income. However, as we have seen, household income -- i.e., that wealth available to the whole household through the treasurer to expend on the various costs necessary to its functioning -- was not (with the exception of William and Margaret Cromwell) one and the same as its master's net income. The bulk of his wealth was likely to be placed with an estates official, or with a household office such as the privy coffer which were not funds over which the treasurer or other maior domus had control. Household income was largely a matter of allowances upon that greater wealth.

When documentation allows us to make fairly reliable calculations, the total household income available for expenses is found to vary widely, not only from household to household, but within one household from year to year. For instance, the total receipts of the Luttrell steward in 1422-1423 are recorded as 99 li 4s 2d; in 1423-1424, 163 li 19s 4d; in 1425-1426, 141 li 2s 9d; in 1429-1430 (by now John Luttrell's household) 7 li 6s 9d; in 1431-1432, 22 li 15s 4d.²⁸

In contrast, under Anne, first dowager duchess, the Stafford household received 1,839 li 11s 6d qua. in 1474.²⁹ Receiving, in 1417-1418 a total of 101 li 19s 8d ob., William and Margaret Cromwell's household in 1419-1420 was given 82 li 10s 11d ob. qua.³⁰ Ralph Cromwell's Tattershall establishment was charged with 1,088 li 7s 1d ob. in 1445, and in 1450-1451 with 1,104 li 2s ob.³¹ These widely varying incomes were the result of a number of factors: the Lord's net income and the status he wanted to convey through his household; the extent of his entrustment of the household as a treasury; and the nature of the household's income sources, which themselves might garner a varied amount of income from year to year.

The household's income came from diverse sources, some of which we have already touched upon, but we shall now look at them in greater detail. Most household, as most net noble, income derived from estates and their various profits. But there were numerous pathways along which these profits could reach the treasurer, and various forms in which they appeared. In many cases the household was largely funded by the receiver-general, out of his conglomerate treasury of estate cash profits. The Luttrells, the first Duke of Buckingham, and Ralph Cromwell saw their establishments monied in this way. However, these households did not receive anything like a regular allowance from this receiver-general but were paid in odd sums at uneven intervals, in anything from five to forty instalments over one year; nor is the total contributed (as we might guess from the above) the same or similar from one year to another. Some of these sums made over by the receiver-general appear to have been "voluntary" in the sense of this chief official, having undertaken to fund his master's household, sent cash without specific orders to do so. But the

receiver tended to be a busy man, often with considerable expenses, who sometimes experienced difficulties in obtaining rents, fines, etc. from tenants and local officials, and in many cases cash was got from him by the command of the Lord or by the household issuing an approved warrant for a certain sum. Receivers often had problems meeting such demands, and paid the sums in two or more instalments. We also find that in some cases the household received cash from the receiver-general only or largely by the presentation of a bill of goods purchased, for which specific bill the receiver would hand over cash to the household. The charge of the Stafford Account for 1443-1444 is a good example of this.³²

Obviously, the above methods of obtaining cash had a distinct disadvantage, which is clearly evident in accounts; the household suffered under a chronic shortage of cash. Unless the receiver or his treasury were readily available, as in the case of the Luttrell household, this lack of funds could be highly inconvenient, despite the credit most lords and their households seem to have enjoyed from farmers and merchants. Unable to rely on the receiver-general for cash requirements, some households circumvented him by going direct to the individual estates. Profits of home manors, such as Stonor, Thornbury, Writtle, Dunster, etc., seldom went to the receiver, being absorbed immediately by the household who lived there. The de Veres, however, took this principle a step further, and we find that a number of their estates in Essex habitually paid some or all of their profits into the household. Two different arrangements could be made: either the estate officials sent all the profits gathered to the household, indiscriminately; or agreed to honour any household warrants sent them. The manors of Occle Parva,

Hedingham, Earls Colne, Stanstead and the London properties over a period of nearly 100 years (1442-1551) sent their total profits to the de Vere household, if not every year, at least three times in a decade as far as the surviving records allow us to tell. Other de Vere estates, such as Northfanbridge, Wyvenhoe and Holbroke sent all their cash in one or two years alone, as if by a special arrangement. Others, such as Eastburgholt, Crepping and Maldon intermittently sent part of their profits to the household by household warrant or the command of the Earl.³³ Other nobles besides the de Veres also got household funds direct from estates, though not to the extent practised by the de Veres. The manor of Writtle, for instance, continued to supply the majority of its cash reserves to the Stafford household, even when it was no longer a home manor.³⁴

As well as money, households obtained income in kind, which could be used directly, from the lord's lands and through estate officials. It is a negative sort of income; it did not really add to the household treasury, but did make unnecessary certain expenditures, and provided needed goods without detracting from the cash supply. This kind of income can be further divided into three categories: estates purveyance, rent in kind, and demesne produce. Numerous examples of estate officials paying for goods and services intended for the household may be uncovered, with ease. Luttrell receiver-generals bought nearly all the wine needed by the household from 1418 to 1430;³⁵ John Heton, receiver-general to the first Stafford Duke in 1443-1444, purveyed 300 sheep for his master's establishment;³⁶ John Lolleworth, a receiver for the 12th Earl of Oxford in 1431-1432, bought cows for the household.³⁷ These purveyances were not repaid by the household but came out of the buyer's funds of his office. A few examples of Bailiffs doing this

kind of buying occur, but it is commonest among receivers and receivers-general. The intention of such purveyance can be sought in the above characteristic and in the large amounts in which such goods were usually so purchased. Luttrell receiver-generals were often, by virtue of their office, in or near Bristol, the source of most imported wine for the West Country,³⁸ and also had ready access to the large amounts of cash required to buy wine in bulk. Instead of sending a warrant to the receiver-general, waiting for the funds to arrive, and then dispatching a servant to Bristol for three or four days, it was far easier and far cheaper for the household to pass the entire job on to the receiver-general, who held the cash and who was likelier to be passing near Bristol in any case.

Early in this chapter we considered the noble's income by rent in kind, and its continuance in the fifteenth century; we indicated that the household was supplied from this sort of income. In fact, the majority of income which appears to be rent in kind did go direct to the household. Receivers were primarily set up, at this date, to handle and store cash; and rent in kind was, in incidence, little enough for the household to dispose of by itself. Most cases of this rent in kind of which records have survived, were of small amounts — a few lambs paid as rent to the Staffords in 1443;³⁹ forty-eight conger eels from Minehead tenants of the Luttrells in 1405⁴⁰ — a welcome enough receipt of goods, but not one which significantly curtailed buying expenses. Some income in kind, however, was so voluminous as to vastly alter household purveyance, eliminating almost wholly the need to buy certain items. Much of this bulk receipt of goods appears to be demesne produce, though it is possible that some of it, like the forty-six quarters of wheat

from Carhampton and East Quantockshead sent by the local bailiffs to the Dunster household,⁴¹ is rent in kind. Such items were entered in the stock accounts as received from a local bailiff in one bulk entry, it is impossible to further descry their actual source for certain. They were not entered in the "charge" section of the account, which means they were not conceived of as income, unlike purveyance by estate officials and cash direct from estates; nor yet were they entered in the discharge. One is hard put to interpret such entries as other than demesne produce.

Two sorts of demesne produce may be differentiated: that sent from outlying estates, and that produced from the home-manor. Distant demesne holdings were often largely devoted to grains: wheat, barley and prepared malt, rye, maize. The Stonors and Luttrells seldom had to buy any of the first three grains which were produced by their estates at East Quantockshead, Carhampton (Luttrell) and Horton Kirkby (Stonor) in enough bulk each year to supply these households with their main requirements for such items.⁴² The de Veres owned two vineyards in Essex (still producing wine today) which yielded, over a year, about one-fifth of the wine required by the household.⁴³ The greater landowners seem to have farmed out their demesnes more completely (and indeed to have more readily commuted to cash, payments in kind); but, as with lesser landowners, they usually had at least a small demesne around their principal country dwellings which produced a richly varied, if smaller, income in kind. All of our five families obtained rabbits, pigeons, and game birds from their home demesnes; Ralph Cromwell had a heronry at Tattershall and a clutch of swans to cull at Eastfarm, Lincs.,⁴⁴ the Luttrells a small vineyard,⁴⁵ and the de Veres an orchard at

Castle Hedingham.⁴⁶ While these products were seldom produced in enough quantity to make an appreciable difference to income expenditure they provided a welcome variation to diet and removed some difficult items from the shopping-list of the caterer. Herons and swans, for instance, were expensive to purchase and difficult to locate. The home demesne, aside from these items, seems to have been in most cases chiefly meadowland, providing as it did grazing and also a partial hay supply for the stables and for stock animals kept for eventual household consumption. The Staffords and de Veres had occasionally to rent such meadowland or buy hay;⁴⁷ but in the main the home-demesne was able to accommodate a household's grazing needs. Some home-demesnes, on the other hand, were essentially farms: specifically those under William and Margaret Cromwell at Tydd, the Stonors, and Henry Lord Stafford, son of the 3rd Duke of Buckingham.⁴⁸ These farms supplied their owners' houses with most of the grain and meadow they needed and also supported permanent herds of cattle and sheep which the household culled for its table rather than having to buy stock animals elsewhere.

Income was also gotten by the household from other than the lord's lands and estate officials. The Lord himself, in fact, and his private treasuries, could be a useful source of cash. In most cases, as with the Luttrells, for instance, and the de Veres, the Lord supplied money to his household treasuries for specific buyings when the household's own cash reserves were low.⁴⁹ Occasionally, however, we find an example of a household treasury which was frequently supplied by its master with large quantities of cash. Ralph Cromwell, Anne first Dowager Duchess of Buckingham and the third Stafford Duke all provided for their households in such

a manner. Edward, Duke of Buckingham, is perhaps the most interesting and fully comprehended example. His great-grandmother, possibly his father, and his great-aunt and guardian Margaret Beaufort instigated the practice of entrusting more than a minor amount of their income to their privy coffers rather than to a receiver-general; and Edmund, whose sedentary existence and scattered estates made such a system both feasible and desirable, imitated some or all of these his relatives, and enlarged upon their ingenuity by turning his privy coffers into a great central agency for the reception, processing and storage of nearly all his income.⁵⁰ His household's treasury was supplied direct from these coffers; and while it had no real control over the coffers, had relatively easy access to cash, which it received regularly and in sufficient quantities to keep the accounts balanced in the black; "voluntarily", by command of the Duke or by household warrant.⁵¹

Households received a minor amount of income from various other areas of the Lord's wealth. John, 13th Earl of Oxford, entrusted the gifts he received to various appropriate departments.⁵² The third Stafford Duke's small profits from his Flemish trading investments (64s 3d) were paid into a household treasury.⁵³ But the most interesting and surprising if not the most lucrative of income sources for the household came, not at all from the Lord's riches, but from within the household itself, generated by and for it alone, created out of the waste products and unused items in the charge of householders. This created income hints at the efficient, rather than frugal, economy which lay behind the deliberate splendour and apparent extravagance of many noble households. As we might expect, most households produced staple goods we would now have to buy.

Indeed, such items as cheese, beer, butter, wine and bread were easily purchased in the middle ages, but were more economically made in the kitchens, if the resources for doing so were available. As well as maintaining livestock, the household also produced some of its own by the raising of chickens and other poultry, lambs, and some calves; most also had a garden for onions, cabbage, garlic and other vegetables and herbs. A more positive but also obvious and expected form of income generated by the particular spirit of economy in the household is that of the profitable sale of goods which the household held in overabundance. Any kind of foodstuffs or indeed objects like pots and stools could be sold in this fashion, but stock animals were most commonly so disposed. Since our knowledge of these sales largely comes from yearly accounts which do not individually date the sales, we cannot be sure of when they took place and the immediate reasons for the sale, but one would suspect that this occurred in the autumn, when the number of the household herds of cattle, sheep and pigs destined for consumption in the hall would have needed to be reduced to what could be supported over the winter or slaughtered, salted and stored. Such stock was usually sold to local farmers, often at a profit. Ralph Cromwell's kitchen clerk recorded, in 1445, the sale of three pigs for 6s 8d each at a time when they were originally bought for 3d ob each.⁵⁴ The first Duke of Buckingham in 1443 sold seventeen lambs, ten beef cattle, one side of beef, and sixty two sheep out of his household.⁵⁵ In 1429 John Luttrell sold for 42s six cattle, at a profit of 1s 2d, though he lost money on the fish he sold.⁵⁶ His father Hugh in 1425 sold eighty-five sheep at varying prices, for an average profit of 1s 6d a head.⁵⁷ Though not individually effective in counterbalancing

household expenses, these examples are indicative of a shrewd and fruitful policy of efficient economic measures.

As well as the relatively simple sale of unneeded goods, the household also could be imaginative in its rendering of waste into by-products of much usefulness, which were used in the household or sold. In a smaller establishment we could probably call some of these by-products cottage industries. All households did their own slaughtering of livestock destined for the table; and it is largely as a consequence of this that householders became involved in creating income. The animals, once dead, were first flayed. Their skins had many uses: woolfells and shaven skins of sheep, hides of oxen, cattle and calves could be refined into parchment or vellum, used whole as cart-covers or rugs, cut up into shoes, clothes, thongs and pots. Sometimes the hair or fur was left on the skin; at other times it was removed for separate use as ticking, lining on clothes, or to make thread. The Luttrells used hides in 1405 to make pots and cups of leather;⁵⁸ the Radcliffe's cook and the first Stafford Duke's laundress prepared rabbit skins for use as trimming on Joan's, Robert's, and Humphrey's clothing.⁵⁹ William and Margaret Cromwell used the wool from unsheared sheep consumed by the household to make thread, and wove it into clothes for servants.⁶⁰ We are not sure whether those hides sold were tanned or not; no record of charges for those used in the household to be tanned outside survive. In Dunster there was a tannery⁶¹ which may have cured the Luttrells' hides in lieu of paying rent.

Under the skin of the slaughtered animal lay the thick layer of subcutaneous fat. This was cut off, as were more large fat deposits uncovered as the carcass was divided. This fat was then "rendered",

that is, cooked at a very low heat for a long period of time until about ninety percent of the fat has been liquefied. This rendered fat of sheep and cattle, or tallow (fat rendered from pigs was always differentiated as pig-fat or pig-grease), was an important ingredient in making candles, and could also be used in salves, or for cooking. It was produced in great quantities -- the Luttrells produced in 1425-1426 120 lbs., the Radcliffes, in 1473, eight stone⁶² -- most of which went into homemade candles. It was also sold, straight or in the form of candles, to locals. The Luttrells', the most imaginative of households in its approach to using by-products, used twelve pounds of tallow in 1430 to replace the organs of Sir John's body when he died in late June, in an attempt to preserve the body for the lying out in hot summer weather.⁶³

Much of the remaining animal was consumed; even Richard II's Book of Feasts includes a recipe for "nombres", or offal.⁶⁴ Even the bones were cracked to obtain the marrow. The household of Ralph Cromwell, however, dried and segmented the viscera of sheep and cattle to make tough gut cords, for use as twine and as wicks for candles.⁶⁵

The completely butchered animal's flesh was normally prepared for eating by frying or stewing. The fat which floated to the surface of a boiling pot or which remained after the frying was called "fflottes". This was used primarily for cooking, as a cheap substitute for lard and butter; but it was also used for tempering metal -- the iron parts of a plough or other instrument are less inclined to wear, rust or stick when protected by a film of grease, the reason why one should not use soap on modern frying pans -- and for the treatment of wood, which benefits from the grease by warping and drying out less easily. The

Luttrells produced a great deal of "fflottes" — about seventy pounds a year — for home use and sale;⁶⁶ but this economy does not seem to have been assiduously followed in any other household. Other small industries appeared less frequently in households and involved less bulk and profit. Humphrey Duke of Buckingham's laundress, besides dressing cony skins, used left-over bran from the bakehouse to make starch.⁶⁷ Ralph Cromwell's servants made torches as well as candles, and also oil, for cooking and for lamps,⁶⁸ from what we cannot be sure — perhaps clarified tallow. Most households produced small amounts of vinegar from excess wine. The de Veres used rushes on their floors culled from the Lord's own marshes.⁶⁹

These homely items were prepared, in the main, for use by the household, as a substitute for buying other articles. But what could not be used was, like stock animals, sold at whatever profitable price could be got. The Luttrells commonly sold about half the tallow they produced;⁷⁰ Ralph Cromwell sold household-made candles which remained unused by the household.⁷¹ Most of these items seem to have been sold, not at market, but privately to individual local tenants and farmers, of which many were regular suppliers of meat to the household. Though of rough quality, the items produced by the household were usually cheaper than market goods, and in greater bulk than most tenants and farmers could produce. Ralph's homemade candles sold in 1450-1451 for 2s 3d for two dozen, when a dozen usually cost between 1s 3d and 1s 6d.⁷² Luttrell tallow cost a little under a penny a pound in 1429, while purchased tallow cost over 2d the pound when purchased by the 1st Stafford Duke in 1443-1444.⁷³ Clearly, the buying of these homemade products was as much a boon to the buyer as their selling was to the household.

The production and sale of these homemade products was carried

out by a wide variety of servants. Obviously much was concentrated in the kitchens and other preparatory departments, as most of the waste material was connected with foodstuffs. But chamberlains and laundresses prepared skins and other things for clothing; general servants like the Luttrells' Reginald Seynesbury and non-preparatory specialized servants such as the Stonors' gardener made candles;⁷⁴ extra stock was peddled not only by caterers but by gentleman-ushers and chaplains.⁷⁵ However, the incidence of by-production, just as it was more common among preparatory servants, was greater in some households than in others. The Luttrells, and William and Margaret Cromwell, were the most imaginative and productive of households in the creation of this sort of income. Luttrell servants produced "fflottes", tallow, skins and objects created out of these raw materials at a steady rate which yielded a regular, predictable income. Ralph Cromwell's home production, on the other hand, was smaller but still regular and diversified. The Staffords and de Veres, however, neglected even the most basic "cottage industries". They bought cheese and butter rather than made it, with the exception of Henry Baron Stafford. Even tallow was purchased, the fat from carcasses being sold directly. Other by-products they put up for sale: skins, woolfells, excess goods. They were not wasteful; but with few exceptions the de Veres and Staffords did not fully exploit opportunities for making or saving money through the household. Even that most common of home productions, brewing, the Staffords did not undertake in large quantities; the first Duke of Buckingham and his widow Anne also bought about three quarters of the 210 loaves of bread their households consumed daily.⁷⁶ The large households of nobles as rich and as great as these were more interested in the

quality of goods rather than clumsy homemade economies which they did not need; nor is it likely that the great quantities of items like tallow which they required could have been met by household production.

As well as the sale of goods, some few households also peddled services: in especial, carting and slaughtering. Some of the numerous artisans necessary to country life — blacksmiths, carters, boat men, potters, etc. — had their parallels in the household. The Staffords, de Veres, Stonors and Luttrells had a private barge for the transport of goods and persons by river;⁷⁷ the Staffords and de Veres, a mail horse;⁷⁸ the Staffords had their own forge and smith at Writtle and Thronbury from 1431.⁷⁹ All our families employed a slaughterer to butcher animals for household consumption, and several carts for the movement of goods. These services were mainly intended for the households' own use; they negated the need to hire such artisans from outside. Only in the William and Margaret Cromwell, and Radcliffe households did they produce a positive income. In 1473, the Radcliffes hired out their slaughterer to Tattershall tenants and local farmers. He earned for his masters 11s, which went towards the final payment of his and another servants' wages.⁸⁰ Clearly this was not a really significant piece of income, though it seems to have provided some ready cash at a time when it was needed. One doubts whether the hiring-out of the slaughterer was an established practice.

Equally problematical, but more likely to be significant, is the possibility that William and Margaret Cromwell organized a regular carting service out of their household. In 1417-1418, Tydd supported over twenty-three horses.⁸¹ The Cromwells had in their

neighbourhood a cartwright, Thomas Harpeley, whose services were constantly enlisted to fix and build at least seven different carts, for which yokes, wheels, traces, etc. were frequently purchased. Indeed, a separate section in the discharge of the 1417-1418 account is devoted solely to carting expenses, totalling 26s 5d ob. In the same year five carters were paid yearly wages, from 6s 8d to 13s 4d.⁸² In 1419-1420, the situation was much the same. Two cart horses were bought, and an indeterminate number of carts (over five) were mended, for a total cost of 30s 7d. Four carters received wages of 10s to 13s 4d per annum.⁸³ Even though the Tydd manor supported a farm, as well as a household, for which carters were needed to haul supplies and for farm work and harvesting, so many carts, carters and upkeep costs - more than one usually finds in any other account concerned with farming -- leads one to suspect that the Cromwells hired out their carting services, in a very enterprising manner. Even the poorest peasant needed carting services, to haul away stones from his fields, to transport crops to barn and market; to gather up hay, to distribute manure. If any tiller of the land did not have his own cart, he would have had to hire one. If he lived at or near Tydd, he might have been able to rent a cart and/or a carter from the Cromwells. We do not, however, have any direct reference to receipts from their hire, unfortunately. These might have been paid to the Bailiff of Tydd, and lie concealed in the single sum paid to the household by him, as listed in the charges of the accounts for 1417-1418 and 1419-1420.⁸⁴ Thus the hiring-out of carts on an almost commercial basis out of the Tydd household remains only a likely possibility, but an enticing one.

Receipts from "cottage industries" such as we have been

examining were almost pure profit, making use as they did of household waste materials. Whether used in the household or sold, each homemade candle and pound of tallow represented a helpful economy. However, such receipts, while a measurable part of household income, were not the major part of the total charges: for William and Margaret Cromwell, about 1%; for the Luttrells, Hugh, 10% and John and Margaret, 50%; for the Radcliffes, 9%; for Ralph Cromwell, 2.6%; for the Staffords and de Veres, something less than 5%.⁸⁵ We must of course remember that these percentages do not include most of the household's negative income from home industry, that is, the free provision of items which would have otherwise been bought. As well, these income percentages are misleading in their appearance of insignificance, to some extent; the 79s 10d earned by the household of Hugh Luttrell in 1422-1423⁸⁶ through positive home production would have paid the wages of all his servants for one quarter.⁸⁷ But, nevertheless, considering the tremendous potential of household industry, it seems that our five families did not fully exploit the resources of materials and labour available to them through their households. However, one must remember that each household only produced so much waste material in a year; they could not have obtained cheaply, more hides than the amount of animals they needed to slaughter for food. The production of homemade items, moreover, took time which householders and their masters might have been unwilling to spend: one pound of animal fat, for instance, takes about twelve hours to be rendered into tallow. Finally, and most importantly, householders were not in the business of making money; they were primarily hired to spend

it on items needed to make possible the Lord's own comforts. Ideally, servants were efficient and thrifty; but the household was chiefly organized around consumption rather than production.

Chapter VII

Consumption

The myriad functions fulfilled by the household, described in the introduction to this thesis, demanded a different attitude to money from the one we usually associate with the word "household". Phrases like "domestic economy" and "the thrifty housewife" spring to the modern mind, and probably lie behind the criticism of extravagance laid at the door of such mediaeval noblemen as Edward Stafford, John de Vere, Henry Percy, the fifth Earl of Northumberland, and many others, by modern writers.¹ For instance, historians frequently cite — and denigrate — illustrations of apparent extravagance, such as the fact that Archbishop Neville's household, at his enthronement, served up nearly four thousand custard tarts. They fail to take account of the small size (one and one-half inches in diameter) of the tarts, and the number of guests (about six hundred); from which it would appear that the sweet was, in fact, rather meagre.² It may be retorted that the good Archbishop need not have invited six hundred people; but from his point of view, in the framework he lived in and his position in society, he probably did have to. The importance and significance of presenting a splendid exterior to the world as a political and social necessity has been described in detail by such historians as Sidney Anglo, and A.R. Myers.³ We need not investigate the subject in detail here; but the premise is apposite to our analysis of household consumption and expenditure. A Lord expected a great many functions to be filled by his household; and he expected them to be done in a manner befitting his position in society. By keeping a luxurious house and a generous table, by dressing servants in fine livery, by

displaying a large following, a lord was able to assert his nobility, proclaim his wealth, and advertise his power, thus attracting clients and gaining respect. The sumptuary legislation passed during this period clearly indicates that people evaluated others by their clothing and their spending habits. To ignore this kind of visual language was to invite social and political downfall. Besides his own person, a lord's household was usually his most obvious and most frequently-observed expense. It travelled with him, offered hospitality to his guests, and expressed towards its master the clearest form of respect — personal service. An impudent servant, or a poorly dressed one, did more to undermine a Lord's reputation than a recalcitrant tenant or a long list of creditors. The servant was more visible to others, and his insubordination more immediately felt. Georges Chastellain crystallized this principle in the course of describing the Duke of Burgundy's household:

After the deeds and exploits of war, which are claims to glory, the household is the first thing which strikes the eye, and that which it is, therefore, most necessary to conduct and arrange well. ⁴

The multiplicity of duties meant that a large staff was called for. Even the Cromwells of Tydd had twenty household-servants in 1417;⁵ the Third Duke of Buckingham had about one-hundred and forty-five in 1521.⁶ In addition, to fulfill all its functions the household required a good deal of money and effort. The time, organization and cost involved in keeping up a large house or castle and its belongings; of heating and cleaning it; of entertainments and religious festivals and banquets; of travelling expenses for servants riding in negociis domini; of perambulating the countryside on a well-maintained stable; all these required considerable work

and expenditure. Moreover, the wages, clothing, feeding and shelter for a staff capable of organizing and performing these tasks became in itself a massive expense, so that it sometimes seems as if the household primarily existed to administer itself.

The English aristocracy was, of course, still relatively wealthy, even if under some economic pressure in our period; it fully expected to spend money for these necessary purposes, nor were they interested in thrift for its own sake. The household was, after all, the framework through which the Lord mainly enjoyed his income. It was conceived as a spending, not a saving, agent. Nevertheless the threats to baronial income in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, so thoroughly discussed by K.B. McFarlane and G.A. Holmes,⁷ meant that uninhibited expenditure had to be wisely curtailed. Edward IV and his counsellors openly admitted the need for certain economies;⁸ others, like Humphrey first Duke of Buckingham, (d. 1460) incurred debts which thirty years later their descendants were still attempting to pay off.⁹ The reconciliation of magnificence and economy was a chief problem of the fifteenth-century English aristocracy, one that frequently centred on the important but expensive household -- itself usually the Lord's greatest expense. A principle of accountability was needed to impose restrictions on those spending the Lord's money, in order to prevent both deliberate embezzlement and expensive carelessness. Sanctions concerning income and expenditure have already been discussed in chapter IV, as they concerned the accounting system; but they also applied to those actually making purchases and carrying out buying policy. Available resources were exploited as much as possible;¹⁰ waste was charged to the personal account of the servant responsible;¹¹ it was common for a household to set a ceiling

on the price of certain items, so that if a purveyor paid overmuch for them the excess would be knocked off his discharge claim. In 1475, for instance, Robert Parker, caterer and kitchen clerk to Joan and Robert Radcliffe, was not allowed to claim more than 3½d for a pig; the auditor reduced all claims outside this amount.¹²

The need to control expenditure by careful husbandry rather than denial, plus the continual problem of careless and sometimes criminal servants such as those of whom the fifth Percy Earl complained so bitterly,¹³ called for a close documentation of household purchases. Household accounts, especially those after c.1350, are highly detailed documents from which we can discern a great deal about buying habits and the facts which influenced the creation of purchasing patterns. By "purchasing patterns", we should understand a regular and systematic time-division of purchasing (and also hiring) activities into logical, manageable parts; for instance, buying the week's fish each Wednesday, the month's grain needs on the first Monday of the month, hiring and paying workmen on Fridays, etc. Most households evolved distinctive, persistent systems, obviously necessary for the satisfactory provision of a large establishment.

These systems were employed by a number of caterers. The buying staff of the household is difficult to define; it was considerably more amorphous than the staff of, for instance, the chapel or chamber. In fact, anyone in the household, including the master himself, could be deputed to purchase goods or hire labourers. In the smaller households, servants specifically hired as caterers and purveyors were practically non-existent. John Hunte, described in the Luttrell account for 1405-1406 as a camerarius,¹⁴ on occasion arranged the purchase and carriage of foodstuffs; the Tydd chaplain,

John de Kyghley, bought both woollen material for clothing, and livestock;¹⁵ William Stonor himself supervised the buying of grain at times.¹⁶ While the cook and baker, and occasionally a "cator", probably superintended and regulated the majority of food expenses, one can otherwise say little about purveyance staff in small households. Necessary expenses were decided upon by the steward and cook, or steward and chaplain, or steward and master (depending on the nature of the item to be bought or the service hired). The actual job of purveying was handed over, in many cases, to whoever was free, or who was riding in the right direction on other business. Purveyance must often have formed a major part of the "general servant's" business, in households like those at Stonor, Dunster and Tydd.

In the larger households, the sheer bulk of necessary provisions required the employment of a more specific catering staff. The twelfth de Vere Earl and his son both employed at least four caterers or purveyors; Ralph Cromwell and his niece Joan two each; and each Stafford, upwards of five.¹⁷ Nevertheless, even in these large establishments the master and other servants who travelled were frequently enlisted to make purchases: in 1473 the husband of the Dowager Duchess Anne Stafford, Lord Mountjoy, frequently bought grain and livestock for household consumption.¹⁸

Estates ministers, neighbours, guests, relatives and tenants might all be asked to purvey occasionally. Hugh Luttrell's legal advisor and counsellor, Sir Richard Popham, was reimbursed for a load of hay he purveyed and conveyed to Dunster on his way there to take counsel with Hugh;¹⁹ the latter's bastard brother also helped purvey on occasion, though he was not a household member.²⁰ Such

informal arrangements are common. Advantage was always taken of anyone's travels — a natural consequence of the expense and hazard of transport. Receivers were frequently and regularly employed to purvey wine for their masters' households, probably because of the receiver's constant perambulation, which brought the holder of such an office to ports where wine was available, and because a receiver already had access to the large amounts of cash needed to finance the high cost of a large amount of wine, and of its carriage to the household. The Luttrells, de Veres, Staffords and Cromwells all employed their receivers and receivers-general in this fashion.²¹

Despite this rather malleable catering staff, quite striking buying and catering patterns emerged in the household. Paradoxically, these patterns are at their clearest in the more loosely organized Dunster, Tydd and Stonor households, and less apparent in the bigger households generally. Running in weekly, monthly and quarterly cycles, these patterns were the necessary response to the problems of providing for a large number of needs for numerous people.

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Catering for large numbers of people necessitates special arrangements rather different from those made by the average nuclear family. Feeding a group of over fifteen, as opposed to one of under ten, is not merely a quantitative difficulty, but a qualitative one. The simple multiplication of the procedure for the smaller group does not convert well. Problems of transportation, of considerably more time spent in purveying, of finding items in large enough quantities, of arranging for constant fresh supplies, immediately arise. Large modern institutions — hospitals, nursing homes, restaurants, etc. — deal with the purveyance problem by the

organization of a schedule, which allows the buyer to make the most of his time and of available resources. Mediaeval noble households, also, seem to have relied upon a time-based system of purchasing and hiring, as the most efficient way of dealing with the problem of catering for establishments of twenty-five, to one-hundred and sixty, individuals.

Surviving, day-by-day household accounts often show strong weekly patterns in the buying of foods and goods to be consumed within a short period of time, and in the hiring of short-term or piece-work employment. Such patterns are highly idiosyncratic, varying considerably in detail from one household to the next; but all are marked by three basic elements which unite their variations into an understandable system. First, we notice that contractions were concentrated on certain days in the week: hence, in the 1405-1406 Luttrell account,²² buying and hiring was restricted to Sunday, Wednesday and Friday. On only two occasions, purchases were made on a Monday and a Saturday, and in about half of the fifty-two weeks recounted, buyings were also done on a Thursday. The Stonors, Ralph Cromwell, Henry Lord Stafford and Margaret Beaufort, and the Radcliffes also show such a pattern, though with quite different days: the Radcliffe caterer, for instance, shopped almost exclusively on Wednesday, Friday and Saturday.²³

Weekly patterns are also marked by the tendency to divide up types of purchases between the various days: hence the Luttrells bought nearly 90% of their fresh meat on Sundays, and all their candles for the week on Fridays;²⁴ the Radcliffes bought fish and butter on Fridays.²⁵ Finally, in most households one day a week stands out in the accounts as the heaviest buying day, and the day

on which business was settled. The Stonors, in 1432-1433, bought heavily on Saturdays — eggs, chickens, vegetables, and dairy produce for the week.²⁶ The Luttrells not only bought heavily on Fridays, but paid the week's day-wages to labourers and caterers, and the cost of the week's eggs, on this day.²⁷ William and Margaret Cromwell had a credit account system, by which they paid for "daily achats" such as eggs, milk and butter, received daily, on a weekly basis — probably each Saturday. Demesne wage-labourers and stable-hands at Tydd were also paid in this way.²⁸

These sorts of weekly patterns are largely absent from the accounts of the greatest households, such as the de Vere Earls, and Dukes of Buckingham, despite the immense detail and great care with which their accounts were compiled. Only very slight patterns emerge. Buying in these households was not restricted to certain days, but occurred every day. Goods and services were not relegated to their own days by type, but all occur nearly every day — in the third Stafford Duke's household, for instance, wild-fowl are to be found purchased nearly every day.²⁹ Only a very slight leaning towards a weekly rendering of accounts can be discovered. Anne Stafford's Sunday purchases, for instance, show a very slight but consistent tendency to be about a shilling over the other weekdays;³⁰ the same is true of her great-grandson's day-accounts, which also exhibit that carters and wage-labourers were paid with somewhat greater frequency — perhaps 10% more often on a Sunday.³¹ What these bigger households do tend to exhibit, however, this time in common with their smaller brethren, are monthly and/or quarterly patterns.

Long-term patterns manifest themselves in the purchase of stock

goods, special purchases (i.e. not requiring regular replenishment), long-term services, and items daily used in small quantities. Hence we find that all the Staffords kept a monthly account of spices, buying replenishments in the first few days of each month and reckoning the amount used in the last few days of the month (the de Veres did much the same);³² though used daily, the small amounts — a dash here, a pinch there — were hard to compute day by day. The Stonors followed the same pattern in the purchase and inventory of grain stocks.³³ Wages for building services and payment for construction materials were often computed monthly.³⁴ The Staffords employed regular carting services which were reimbursed on a lunar basis.³⁵ Service of indefinite length, and goods which were daily used but seldom spoiled, were often for convenience sake renewed over even longer periods, at quarter-yearly intervals. Wages of household servants, and the purchase of wine and ale, were almost universally managed at quarterly intervals. These quarters were usually fixed within, though they varied between, households. The Luttrells, for instance, used the traditional quarter-days employed by the Exchequer: the Annunciation (25 March), the Nativity of John the Baptist (29 June) or Midsummer, Michaelmas (29 September), and Christmas;³⁶ while the Stonors employed a quite different set of dates: All Hallows (1 November), Candlemass (2 February), Easter, and probably the Feast of St. James (25 July).³⁷ The Staffords, from Henry son of the 1st Duke to Edward the 3rd Duke, experimented with at least three different quarter-reckonings.³⁸

Despite variations, the basic principles of weekly, monthly and quarterly consumption patterns persisted in almost all households. We have described the facts of such patterns, and ascertained certain

key characteristics, but have not analysed them to ascertain the significance of their variations. Why was Wednesday, fish-buying day in some households, and Saturday in others? Why did the bigger households lack clear weekly patterns? The nature of the purveyance staff cannot be seen to have anything to do with their workings; with or without a fixed staff, patterns were adhered to by those who controlled buying policy. The amorphous "staff" was adapted to the pattern, not vice-versa, despite the casual and fortuitous nature of many purveyance arrangements. Nor do such things as time of year or seasonal availability seem to have influenced these patterns. Luttrell servants purveyed in London in December and January, regardless of road conditions.³⁹ Actual items of consumption show little change throughout the year, with the exception of Lent, when the fish diet was rigidly adhered to. In determining buying and hiring patterns, we need to consider three compounded and simultaneous factors, which must have influenced systems of purveyance: the types of items and services required; the nature of their purchase, fresh or stock, piece-work or long term hiring; and their source.

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The reader will notice that the majority of examples given, of items consumed by the household, are foodstuffs of some sort. The author has attempted to balance, roughly, the examples with the percentages of different items and services paid for. Three large categories of consumption are best distinguished, as they often are in household accounts themselves: foodstuffs, non-food goods, and services. Food was without doubt the single greatest expense, not only of the household (as it is in most modern homes), but of the Lord's whole concern; any discussion of household consumption is

necessarily preoccupied with food, required for the maintenance of a large establishment and also the most basic and primitive of hospitable offerings, entertainments, and ways to illustrate splendour and largesse. Nineteenth, and indeed many twentieth century discussions of the household have become engrossed in and eventually subsumed by descriptions of the staggering amounts, odd nature, strange preparation and splendid presentation of the food purveyed by and served in the household. Such descriptions can be initially interesting, but eventually lead to tedium, and they often lead to historical misconceptions. The gluttonous, overfed English aristocrat with his penchant for sugar - and honey-laden dishes served in innumerable courses, and his permanent indigestion, is portrayed in book after book of serious historical inquiry. A.R. Myers, in his introduction to The Household Book of Edward IV,⁴⁰ assumes this attitude on the part of the reader and is constrained to draw attention to the subject. One, at least partially serious, explanation of what is sometimes seen as the irritability and resultant readiness to fight on the part of the fifteenth-century English noble is that his high meat diet made him chronically constipated.⁴¹ One must admit that Jones and Furnivall, Jeaffreson et al,⁴² had some reason for this portrayal. The modern mind cannot help but be appalled at the high amounts of food consumed under such as the fifth Earl of Northumberland:⁴³ in one year, 16,932 bushels of wheat; 27,594 gallons of ale; 1,646 gallons of wine; 20,800 pounds of currants; 124 beef cattle, 667 sheep; 14,000 herring. The sheer amount of food, and also its variety -- with swans, boars, sixty different kinds of spices, twenty-eight flavoured waters from "water of columbine" to "water of fennell" -- staggers the modern

imagination. Like the speed of light and the age of the earth, these are numbers which we have great difficulty assimilating, as they have little in common with the pantry of the modern family. We must, however, think of the household in institutional terms, in institutional proportions. Small hospitals and nursing homes cater in similar amounts to the above, without being accused of gluttony. For instance, in the Percy household in the early 16th century, 27,594 gallons of ale equalled one and one-half quarts per person per day; as this was the chief water-substitute, the amount is not unusual -- most humans today require a minimum of 2 quarts of liquid per diem.⁴⁴ The seven-hundred and ninety-eight animals providing red meat to the Percy household would have yielded one-hundred and sixty-six householders an average of somewhat less than a quarter-pound of meat daily -- about the modern recommended requirement;⁴⁵ and the nutritional and caloric value of food was less in the middle ages. We need not, then, become involved in recounting the amounts of food consumed. Some account of the varieties of mediaeval food, as these affected consumption and purveyance patterns, would however be useful. Eight basic categories, common to most households in England during the period 1350 to 1550, can be discerned: grain, fish, meat, poultry, dairy products and eggs, spices and fruits, ale and wine, and vegetables. The general information and conclusions in the following chapters are based on a close observation of trends in mediaeval households generally. The Bibliography and Appendix I list households consulted in this survey.

The grain most commonly used was wheat, in bread especially but also in porridges, pastries, stuffings, batters, and the like. In sheer bulk, wheat probably superseded all other foodstuffs in its use.

Barley, malt, rye, and various pulses were used in coarser breads, meat cases, brewing, and feed for horses and poultry. Red meat was probably the most expensive item of consumption. Beef cattle, and sheep, were the most common source of protein; but calves, oxen, lambs, pigs, boars and even occasionally a milk-cow were also consumed. Venison, oddly, seldom enters the accounts; probably because it was hunted rather than purchased. Most red meat was bought as livestock, either for immediate slaughter or for pasturing as a pantry on the hoof; but dead animals, whole or butchered, were gotten occasionally. As well as red meat, the more delicate flesh of poultry and wild-fowl varied the mediaeval diet.

Chickens, capons and pullets were the most common domestic bird consumed, and duck a frequently-enjoyed wild-fowl; but geese, pigeons, swans, herons, occasional peacocks, larks, sparrows, and such unusual sea-birds as gulls and terns, were also eaten.

For at least a third of the days of the year, however, meat was forbidden by the church; in the more pious households, not only Fridays and Lent, but Advent, Wednesdays and Saturdays were observed as days of abstinence.⁴⁶ The alternative source of protein utilized was fish: river, sea; fresh, salt, or pickled. It would be impossible to recount the huge variety of fish-types, well over one-hundred and fifty, consumed. Salmon, fresh or preserved herring, sprats, trout and plaice most commonly graced the table. All matter of seafood — lobster, crab, crayfish, mussels, oysters — can be found, though more frequently and in greater variety in some households than others.

Certain purchases recurred daily: various dairy products, and eggs. Milk (and cream), though not used as a drink, was

necessary to the cook, who might use several gallons in a day. Eggs were used in numerous recipes, and were also eaten on their own, especially at breakfast: eggs, ale and a "dish" of butter constituted the standard morning meal for Anne and Edward Stafford.⁴⁷ Butter, of course, had numerous other uses. Cheese figures in few accounts; only the Stonors bought it in any quantity.⁴⁸ It has sometimes been called "the poor man's meat", which nobles did not deign to use;⁴⁹ but it is more likely that cheese — soft new cheese being considered more digestible than the harder, mature variety⁵⁰ — was made by the household and hence does not require entry in the accounts.

Vegetables have been put in the same category as cheeses, because they seldom appear in accounts or recipes — a food of the poor, unfit for the finer table. In fact, certain mss. of the Liber Niger⁵¹ list vegetables among necessary items to be purveyed, and they are commonly featured in accounts of castle gardens, along with such herbs as rosemary, sage and thyme. Like cheeses, vegetables were "home-grown", not usually requiring purveyance, and so do not enter the accounts. While vegetables were not eaten on their own as commonly as now, they were essential ingredients in many soups, stuffings and dressings. Onions, leeks, garlic, turnips, mushrooms and parsnips are especially common; the orange and salad vegetables such as carrots and lettuce are never mentioned. The Stonors, like Chaucer's cook, were particularly fond of onions and garlic.⁵² Besides the common, garden-grown herbs and vegetables, more exotic spices and fruits were demanded by the mediaeval palet, both for purposes of preservation and for their own sakes. The variety of spices — about sixty different

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kinds — is staggering; from such common modern ones as cinnamon, mustard and ginger to items we can today scarcely identify — cubebs, "graynes of paridyse", erringo root. Fruits such as oranges, lemons, figs, dates and raisins were imported; English goods — apples, rose hips, various berries, and numerous edible flowers such as rose petals, dried elderflower, and sunflower stalks (called Jerusalem artichokes) — were also purchased. By the late fifteenth century, conventional candies such as biscuits, suckets (boiled sweets) and comfits also enter the accounts.

Water was no more convenient and considerably less safe to drink than alcoholic beverages; ale and various kinds of wines were commonly drunk at all meals. Some households, such as the de Veres,⁵³ brewed most of their own ale from malt and barley; others, like the Luttrells,⁵⁴ purchased most of what they required from local producers. Ale came in several grades, depending on alcohol content, clarity and the quality of the grain used; most households kept a "best ale" and a "second ale" in their cellars. Hops for beer first appeared in the 1480's, but were not in general used until the early sixteenth century.⁵⁵ By the 1520's, beer was as or more common than ale in the household. While some vineyards did exist in the southern parts of England, which were exploited by their owners — mainly monasteries or nobles — to make wine — notably by the Luttrells and de Veres⁵⁶ — their yields were small, and most wine was imported from Europe — generally France, but also Spain and Bavaria. In the end of the fourteenth and the early years of the fifteenth century, wine was usually only differentiated as "red" or "white"; but by 1450 such distinctions as Bastard (a sweet Spanish dessert-wine), Rhenish, and occasionally Malmsey appear.

For instance, by 1503-1504 the third Stafford Duke was regularly buying eight different kinds of wine.⁵⁷

This very cursory tour of foodstuffs consumed in English households generally gives some idea of the varied diet and resulting complications in purveyance with which the household had to cope. Determining where these foodstuffs could be gotten, in what quantities, how long they would remain fresh, and how often they were needed, had probably the most influence upon the development of household consumption patterns.

Other goods, however, non-edible stuffs, had also to be purveyed by the household. These vary considerably in type from household to household, and include many special items not requiring regular replenishment, such as fire-irons, chairs, bells, etc. In general, households used several wide-ranging categories to deal with non-food goods: cloth and clothing; candles, wax and wicks, torches and other lighting implements; coal, wood, rushes, and other fuel; ironmongery; and building materials. The heating, lighting and maintenance of a castle or large manor house, and the dressing of, often, over one-hundred people, required considerable organization -- especially when such bulky items as rushes, or hard-to-locate goods such as red satin, had to be purveyed -- and affected purveying systems.

As well as goods, even the largest and most self-sufficient households required certain services, short-term or long. Households which oversaw a demesne farm, such as that at Tydd, often hired full-time and seasonal agricultural labourers; constant maintenance required not only materials but builders and labourers. Most households in England, with the exception of the Staffords,⁵⁸

had to rely on smiths without the establishment; in some cases households, such as the Luttrells in 1405-1406, and Lady Margaret Long's in 1542,⁵⁹ saved up numerous jobs and then hired a monger outright for a week or more's labour. Finally, in most households, carters had to be employed to supplement household transport services, and especially in the carriage of consumables to the household from the place of purchase. These services, many of them intimately involved with the getting of goods described above, were largely financed out of the household's pocket, and were generally adapted to the system of purveying and accounting for goods.

The nature of the goods and services required by the household was the initial factor in the evolution of purveyance patterns, depending on what each household ate or used. The Cromwells and Radcliffes at Tattershall, for instance, depended particularly heavily upon a diet of fish,⁶⁰ unlike the Stonors, who ate considerably more red meat.⁶¹ But the manner of purveying such items was particularly affected, through the nature of the goods and services involved, by the chance of spoilage, bulk and frequency with which it was consumed. Items which were eaten daily and spoiled quickly, had to be purchased frequently. Goods which kept well, or were bulky enough to require special transport, were purchased in large quantities at long intervals. The buying of "fresh achats" and "gross emptions", and the balance between them, exercised considerable influence over the purveyance pattern of a household.

"Fresh achats" includes those items bought for more or less immediate use, and in most cases was a repetitive purchase of items frequently and rapidly consumed. Goods were probably purchased

"fresh" for several reasons. Firstly, quickness in spoiling might force the house to necessarily buy certain goods in small amounts at frequent intervals: eggs and butter, for instance. Eaten nearly every day, these items were bought on average about three times a week in nearly all households which the author has examined. Milk and cheese were less frequently consumed, except in the Stonor and Stafford households,⁶² but probably due to their rate of spoilage, were always bought as "fresh achats". Items which probably lasted rather better, but were used in such quantities so frequently that stock had to be continually replenished, were also purchased as fresh achats: butchered meat, some livestock, poultry, and fresh fish. These items constituted the daily shopping-list of household purveyors such as the Luttrells' Reginald Seynesbury, the Stonors' John Mattheve, and Elizabeth de Burgh's many buyers.⁶³ Certain services can also be conveniently grouped with "fresh achats" -- short-term and piece-work labour. Builders doing minor repair-work, wives hired to weed the castle garden, seasonal agricultural-labourers, and in some households stablehands, were paid once a week for their wages, computed per diem.⁶⁴

Fresh achats, because of the frequency of their purchase, were often paid for by a credit system, similar to many modern milk-delivery services. Instead of paying for daily-purveyed eggs and butter at each transaction, the household paid in one lot for all those items consumed over a week. This system prevented the household from having to keep an open supply of small coinage, and allowed financial officers to organize payments on a single day, which they could then oversee. Positive evidence for such a credit system exists for the households of Hugh Luttrell⁶⁵ and the

Cromwells of Tydd,⁶⁶ and is implicit in many other day-accounts. While, for the individual from whom the goods were purchased, such a system could create a backlog of payments, it also meant that they might bring about a virtual monopoly on provisioning the household in question. A credit system meant reliance on a limited set of providers with whom credit agreements were made.

Some goods and services were better bought as stock or "gross empcions" — that is, items gotten for the larder, purchased in bulk to last over a period of at least a month, often longer. Items fashioned to remain useable over a long period of time — pickled and salted meats and fish, for instance — were naturally purchased as stock. One would expect stock to be of primary importance in the winter months, but in fact little evidence exists to show that this was the case. Items of consumption show little change throughout the year, regardless of the seasons — calves and lambs, despite price fluctuations, were consumed year-round in steady proportion to the rest of the diet. Grain was not purchased in greater quantities during September, though cheaper then. Somewhat more salt-meat and fish was consumed in the winter months, but freshly-slaughtered meat was as common. Seasonal variations seem to have made little impression on the aristocracy's consumption, though household servants may have lived off salt beef over the winter months.⁶⁷

Livestock formed the greatest part of the household's pantry — a larder on the hoof. Quite large herds of cattle and sheep were grazed or in winter fed on hay near the household, to be culled periodically for the table. Chicken coops and rabbit hutches, ponds for ducks and fish, and free-range geese in the park,

are mentioned in whole or in part in the records of all our five households.⁶⁸ Frequently-used but exceedingly bulky goods, which took time, money and organization to purvey and cart to the household were also usually bought in large amounts, to keep the household supplied for a month to a quarter-year at a time. Candles, cloth, fuel, rushes, wine, ale and grain were oftenest purchased in this manner. Daily, or even weekly purveyance of the wheat needed for 79 loaves of bread used per diem in the 12th Earl of Oxford's household,⁶⁹ or the eighty-three gallons of ale used daily by the first Duke of Buckingham's establishment,⁷⁰ would have required considerable needless energy; therefore caterers contrived to use the storage space of cellars and granaries to keep the household supplied with these goods. Other items, which were used frequently but in very small quantities, were, one posits, most easily bought as stock items. Cinnamon, ginger and other spices, salt, dates, fish oil, vinegar, and other condiments could be stored almost indefinitely, and a relatively small amount might suffice for a year. This explains why, in addition to a daily routine, caterers in all our five families made special, but regular, expeditions to get these major items. Certain services were also handled in the manner of stock items -- at long intervals, to cover up to a quarter's service. Continuing labour of indefinite term was frequently paid in this way. Household servants are the most obvious example; in every wage list the author has seen they were paid at every quarter. Also some carters and agricultural labourers who worked regularly for the Lord were reimbursed every month, or more often, each quarter.⁷¹

Stock purchases were also sometimes assisted by standing

credit arrangements, so that the caterer did not have to be trusted with truly large sums of money, and so that he could continue to purvey more necessities even if his cash had run out. The Stonors, for instance, had such a continuing credit arrangement with several London clothiers; the Stonors purchased material in bulk, and numerous ready-made articles such as children's shoes, from them about once a month, and received a bill about once a quarter.⁷²

While creditors could and did have difficulties in obtaining payment, they were also assured to some extent of continuous patronage.

Thus we find that, depending on what the household tended to consume, caterers had a double buying, and payment, system: a daily/weekly routine of fresh foods to purchase, and a less frequent but more strenuous system of stock replenishment. Some households relied much more on fresh produce than stock, and vice-versa, depending on their dietary basis: the Cromwells of Tattershall, because of their heavy use of fish, tended to rely more on a fresh achats system.⁷³ The Staffords and de Veres, on the other hand, show almost no evidence of a pattern of fresh buying;⁷⁴ they relied heavily on livestock replenishment, and what had to be bought fresh was required in such quantities by these large households that the sheer bulk demanded daily purchase. Unlike the Stonors or Luttrells, the biggest households were not able to establish a daily/weekly purchase pattern which assigned fish purchases to one day, meat to another, etc., because of the size of daily requirements. Whether favouring fresh or stock buying and hiring, however, the establishment of particular days as buying days within the pattern was largely determined by the available sources of foodstuffs, goods, and labour.

The great majority of goods and services required by the household, especially as fresh achats, could be obtained within the locality, within half a day's ride from the household base. This was, of course, necessarily the case for certain items, especially milk and eggs; no household could have survived for long in a wasteland, regardless of their carting facilities. The centres of noble establishments, castles and manor houses, were from the earliest times strategically placed where supplies were easily obtained. What is perhaps surprizing is the extent to which households with transport and nearby, large market-towns, continued to rely on the rural locality for goods and services, and the ability of that area to fill household demands. One common explanation for the movement of noble establishments is that such households stripped the countryside of available goods over a few months and then moved on to another area whose supplies were not exhausted.⁷⁵ However, as we have previously indicated, households came to achieve a greater stability through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, without creating deserts in their immediate vicinity. Clearly, it was possible to create a balance of production and demand within a relatively small area. Local purveyance was divided into two methods: purchase at market, and direct from farmers.

Many small households relied almost entirely on several local, weekly markets where they could obtain most of the household's fresh achats and some stock goods. Here lies the explanation of buying-day variations. The Dunster town-market was held on Friday, when we find the Luttrells buying the most items, from red meat to candles (it was also pay-day for some workers, which from the latters'

point-of-view must have been a happy coincidence); in the larger town of Minehead the market was held on Wednesdays, when most of the week's fish was purchased.⁷⁶ When we further consider that Dunster's was chiefly a cattle-market, and that Minehead is still a renowned fish port, the distinction of types of food-purveyance for different days becomes fully understandable. The Stonors also heavily employed local markets for their chief "fresh achats", as did most small households; these small establishments could also patronize the shopfronts or "shammels" of the little towns whose markets they used. The Stonors regularly bought meat from a butcher in Nettlebed.⁷⁷

Markets were less satisfactory for supplying the fresh achats of bigger establishments, such as those of the Stafford Dukes and de Vere Earls. Once again, the sheer quantity of daily requirements precluded dependence on markets. The markets of such places as Castle Hedingham, were simply not large enough to produce regularly the quantities of livestock, fish and butchered meat required by the great noble establishments. It is rather like attempting to obtain regularly, ten pounds of cheese from a corner shop each week; ultimately one is better off getting closer to the initial supplier. Big households — and small households to a lesser degree — relied directly upon local farmers to supply them with certain goods. The Staffords, the first and third Dukes especially, obtained fresh meat from two regular circles of six to ten farmers around both Thornbury in Staffordshire and Writtle in Essex, and, relying upon wider circles of perhaps fifteen farmers, probably established some informal agreement about supplies; the animals were exchanged and driven to the household area as needed, so as not to exhaust the

grazing lands.⁷⁸ Hence, a weekly pattern did not tend to establish itself in these bigger households, as they obtained fresh achats on an almost daily basis from a source not regulated by time. Similarly, fresh fish could be got from the fishing boats themselves — in Ipswich for the de Veres at Hedingham, at Minehead for the Luttrells. The latter arranged for purchase direct from the fishermen each Thursday;⁷⁹ the de Veres' fish purveyance seems to have been more idiosyncratic, probably because English Channel fishers sailed further and for longer periods than their brothers off the Bristol coast.⁸⁰ Other fresh achats which required replenishment daily, such as milk, eggs and butter, also were obtained from local farmers, often by a regular arrangement — we have already discussed the credit system of the Tydd-Cromwells. Stock goods were also obtained direct from farmers, who could supply them in the necessary bulk. Grain of all kinds, large herds of livestock (as many as three hundred sheep at a time for Humphrey Stafford, the first Duke⁸¹), stock fish, and ale for the Luttrells (from local malt producers)⁸² were purveyed about once a quarter from a combination of local farmers, often the same who regularly supplied the household with fresh achats.

Finally, the great majority of the labourers, skilled and unskilled, who were hired by the household, came from the locality. Wage-labourers, and peasant-farmers outside of the busiest harvest season, were taken on for building repairs and demesne husbandry. Most of the carters employed by the first Duke of Buckingham were local to Maxstoke and Writtle.⁸³ The blacksmith hired for three weeks by the Luttrells in 1405-1406 was from Dunster.⁸⁴ Household members, as we have already shown in chapter IV, were almost wholly of local stock, as far as can be shown. However, certain goods

and services were simply not obtainable within half a day's ride of the household centre. Fine cloth, ready-made clothing, wine, spices, goldsmith-work, and master-masonry could not be located in the relatively small, country areas in which most households had their primary abodes. For such recourse was made to bigger, urban centres.

Some households, because of their closeness to such centres, relied on them, even for some fresh achats and regular stock-food. The Stonors, within a day from London, frequently purchased common items for daily use there.⁸⁵ Ralph Lord Cromwell and the Radcliffes, whose diet was heavily weighted by fresh fish, obtained these in Boston, necessitating the caterer making an overnight trip there once a week at least (on Thursdays in 1475, to catch the market), and sometimes twice; besides fish he also might buy pigs, chickens, and other fresh produce there.⁸⁶ The third Duke of Buckingham, when staying at his property called Red Rose, in London, often purchased stock animals from the large London markets to be grazed near Thornbury.⁸⁷ Chiefly, however, our five households seem to have relied upon the larger towns for items and services which could not be obtained locally. Wine, spices, jewellery, clothing, fine cloth, special candles and torches, armour, dried fruit and candies had to be got in a large town; the services of goldsmiths, drapers, mercers, and shoemakers were more readily available here. The extent to which the household relied upon the towns was determined in part by its particular demand for luxury goods. Wine, spices, and good-quality cloth, because they were generally imported from overseas and because they were quasi-necessities — no gentleman's standard of living excluded these — were bought in the nearest large

town by all our households: the Luttrells at Bristol; the Cromwells and Radcliffes at Boston; the Stonors in London; the de Veres in Colchester and London; the Staffords at Chelmsford, London and Coventry. The accounts of merchants such as the Celys bear out the importance of noble and gentle patronage in their garnering of income via luxury goods.⁸⁸

The purveyance of other consumables varied, depending on the household. The Luttrells' establishment made some of its own hide and wooden cups and platters, buying other such items in the locality of Dunster; they had shoes and harness made by the Dunster tanner and leather-worker. The local blacksmith made Sir Hugh's armour in 1406.⁸⁹ William and Margaret Cromwell, at Tydd, had the servants' livery-cloth woven in the household itself, and dyed and fulled in Tydd.⁹⁰ The de Veres, on the other hand, shunned provincial handiwork -- their saddlery, including sumpter and cart horse-harness, came out of a London shop, and even their metal pots and fire-irons were purchased from ironmongers in Colchester and London,⁹¹ rather than the simple smithy at Castle Hedingham. Nearness and ease of access to large towns also influenced how they were used; the Stonors and de Veres went to London more frequently, and bought more there, than the Cromwells. Nearness to these centres also determined how visits to them fitted into the purveyance pattern. In most cases, items from the towns were bought in stock quantities -- those such as spices and wines, due to the latter's bulk and the daily use, in small amounts, of the former, lent themselves to stock buying; but cloth, and even shoes in the Stafford household,⁹² were also purchased in bulk. Thus, visits to these centres, except for the Stonor and Tattershall households, to London and Boston respectively, seldom occurred more

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than twice a quarter, and oftentimes less. Unlike local stock-purveyance, however, such shopping expeditions were not always regularly arranged occurrences, but were more often made in conjunction with the receiver's business or the master's travels.

In some households we also find that purveyors had a direct overseas link. As with the direct trading with local farmers, foreign contacts could have been exploited for the easier and cheaper garnering of the many ells of velvet and gallons of wine and pounds of spice consumed yearly, circumventing the retail profits of the shops. The maintenance of such a contact, however, required its own full-time employees, involved sizeable speculative shipments and ultimately entangled the household in a trade system which was not its chief object. Overseas contacts, then, tended to be largely fortuitous. Sir Hugh Luttrell obtained much household wine direct from Bordeaux through his contacts and travels there in his nineteen years as its mayor;⁹³ William Stonor sometimes used his London and Calais wool-agents and partners to import luxury goods such as wine and lace for the household, between 1474 and 1482.⁹⁴ Edward, 3rd Duke of Buckingham, alone of our nobles seems to have allowed a direct overseas link by the household: in 1519 his servants negotiated in Flanders personally to purchase war-horses;⁹⁵ he also got luxury cloths — satins and velvets — imported from Genoa through a merchant of that city, with whom the Duke also invested money overseas.⁹⁶ "Pietro de Janua", however, probably also had a London shop out of which the Duke may have obtained such goods. Direct overseas trade seems to have been an irregular, indeed unusual method of household purveyance.

The consumption-rate of the household as a body was, as we have seen, formidable. Six-hundred and sixty-seven sheep per annum, even when placed in proper perspective, is still a great many sheep. Naturally, the noble household affected trade in England, on a local and also a wider level. The decimation of a countryside was doubtless occasionally the case in a superficial sense — Peter of Blois frequently mentions the exhaustion of an area's immediate supplies by a visitation of King Henry II and his Court⁹⁷ — but the more settled households of the later middle ages, to survive, must have reached some sort of equilibrium between supply and demand. The effect of the household on some aspects of overseas trade is obvious. Such items as sugar, pepper, dates, wine, silks, velvet, German armour, Flemish horses, and other luxury items were almost wholly consumed by the aristocratic classes and their households. Without these noble establishments, Italian merchants who specialized in such items would have had little business in Britain. While it had little effect on the staple English international trade, wool and wool cloth, the luxuries market strongly affected the character of London, and also the provincial metropolis on which many nobles depended for the attainment of luxury goods. Households created steady demands on these trading centres, and utilized their sophisticated services on a regular basis.

But the real effect of the household was felt on a local level, in those small towns and villages wherein Lords established their largely permanent homes. The presence of a noble and his household created a demand for numerous local products in bulk, serving in effect as an economic stimulus to the area. Moreover, it was a steady source of demand. The rate of consumption of the Staffords,

for instance, from the creation of the first Duke (1438) to the demise of the third (1521), remains surprisingly steady, if anything, beginning to increase from the 1480's as the household grew in numbers.⁹⁸ Regardless of war, political crisis, plague, etc., the household had people to feed, a house to maintain, and a status to keep up, which meant that its consumption-level was unlikely to fluctuate drastically. Just as the growth of towns created an increase in secondary consumers who did not produce their own food and by whom a surplus was required from primary consumers, so the noble household. The latter, however, was a more immediate stimulus; it required less outlay in terms of time, carting expenses, etc.

As well as local goods, the household demanded and sought local services. Carting, building repairs, wood-cutting, garden and demesne agricultural labour, and numerous other chores, as well as the skills and crafts of the tanner, smith and brewer. During the less-than-fruitful times of the year -- in winter, and in June before the first crops sprang, the extra income provided to locals via household work must have helped to even out the tenor of mediaeval rural life; through the household, at least some of the money collected by the Lord through rents and fines was ploughed back into the hands of those from whom it came originally.

Many mediaeval markets were created by the aristocracy's receipt of royal charters to establish such trading centres near their chief homes, chiefly from eleventh to the thirteenth century. This explains the existence of markets in such small places as Dunster, Castle Hedingham, and Tattershall, while none were ever established in considerably larger towns nearby.⁹⁹ The establishment of a trading centre, to which the household continued to supply demands

for local produce, not only stimulated the production of surplus goods and services, but stimulated demands for these. As well as for householders, the market became a supply centre for those from the area within a day's ride of it; they came not only to sell, but to buy. Such markets, serving their rural surroundings, created trade communities which formed the basis of mediaeval internal trade in England.¹⁰⁰

There was, of course, significant damage which a household could inflict upon a countryside's economy, too. Even a relatively stable establishment such as that of the Stafford Dukes might suddenly take to new homes, depriving the area of accustomed demands. One wonders what difficulties of adjustment Maxstoke and Writtle experienced after Edward Stafford deserted these for Thornbury and Red Rose.¹⁰¹ A household might also demand and get labourers at a time when farmers could ill-afford to lose extra hands, such as at harvest season. By the early sixteenth century, at Dunster, Thornbury and Hedingham, extensive emparking had begun to eat away at wasteland which an expanding peasant population could have colonized.¹⁰² Households could, and distressingly often did, purvey on credit, building up huge debts which they were in no hurry to pay; few local farmers or tradesmen would have been willing to act against noble customers. Elizabeth Phillips, a London silkwoman to whom Edward Stafford owed several hundred pounds, outstanding for nearly a year, wrote numerous dunning letters to his caterers in 1519 and 1520, but continued to deal with the Duke's servants and allow them credit.¹⁰³

Nevertheless, in order to survive in stability, any household ultimately had to balance its drain on the local community with the latter's ability to fill its demands. As a result, the household

acted as an economic institution, both internally -- as a way of the Lord's controlling his income and expenditure -- and externally, as an organization through which some international, but especially local, supply and demand was modified.

Chapter VIII

In Negociis Domini

Political history, that standby of the textbook author, is probably that area of study with which we most readily associate the noble classes. The part of the mediaeval nobleman in the form, organization, administration, defence and government of his particular social order has exercised the wits of many scholars. This thesis has so far been chiefly concerned with other aspects of nobles and their households: their internal organization, their place in the economy, and religious practices. The involvement of the household in what was one of its master's chief concerns must now be considered. The mediaeval noble household has seldom been examined in this light; yet it played both a passive and an active role in its master's administrative duties, parliamentary activity, military endeavours, and intrigues at home and abroad, being often enough so deeply concerned that householders were able to undermine the Lord's trust and see him executed or banished. The part of the household in political affairs is discerned in the frequency of the phrase, in negociis domini -- the explanation of numerous expenses in household accounts, incurred "while engaged in the Lord's business", within and without the household. Just what this business was, is seldom made clear; but it was not ordinary purveyance, reparations or purchase of goods, which have their own descriptive latin formulae. When such an entry is further qualified, however, it is usually found to refer to what we would classify as a political matter: local or national administration, as in the servants of Thomas Stonor II who made arrests for him in his capacity as sheriff¹ of Oxfordshire and Berkshire; or the taking of counsel on legal and governmental matters,

such as Robert Gilbert's dealings with Cardinal Wolsey for the third Duke of Buckingham in 1520.² The part of the household in negociis domini is revealed in a surprising number of varied and important functions.

The household collectively, and householders individually, aided their masters in six different ways. Firstly and perhaps most obviously, the household controlled the mechanics of the exercise of power, organizing payments, giving out hospitality, providing goods and services. The Lord's domestic establishment also served as a kind of display case, or to mix metaphors, as a barometer of the master's power and wealth, by collective and individual appearances. Evidence exists to show that, on occasion, householders served as military aides, outfitting the Lord's hired soldiers with weaponry and supplies, acting as "hit men" for the Lord by terrorizing recalcitrant tenants or poaching from neighbouring gentry; and even, on occasion, donning armour and sword themselves in order to defend the family holdings, attack another noble, or join in national military campaigns at home and abroad. In a more peaceful vein, householders served as messengers and bearers, carrying news and goods of political import for their master; sometimes their capacities as messengers were expanded into the role of ambassadors or deputies, giving them power to collect information and treat for the lord with others, exercising considerable initiative and discretion. Finally, householders served their lord most frequently as counsellors in political and other matters: both informally, giving advice and information as he required it, and formally, by sitting on baronial councils.

Through these various roles in nobles' political careers, the

household and householders could come to exercise important if discreet powers, helping or betraying their masters in times of crisis, and vicariously participating in the political life and government of the county and kingdom. While the nature and extent of this involvement was naturally dependent upon the Lord's own status and the expectations and origins of individual householders, an examination of these varying roles will exhibit the importance of his household in the career of the mediaeval nobleman.

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The most obvious and the most superficial role of the household in its masters political career, was the performance of those duties which made possible the Lord's involvement in local and national affairs: the mechanics behind the exercise of power. Much of this includes the ability to absorb odd payments into the household's economy and also to provide ready money when required. Accounts reveal numerous payments of annuities and the provision of liveries for the Lord's clients, retainers and allies, such as the Duchess of Suffolk's payment to Thomas Stonor II of 9 li 13s 4d per annum out of her household funds.³ Regarda were handed out to visiting messengers and the servants of other nobles, as in John Bacwell's payments to Lord Paulets' servants at Dunster in 1406.⁴ Fees of legal advisers were paid, like that given to Richard Wells, clerk of the Chancery, by the third Duke of Buckingham in 1519.⁵ Gentry and others riding to the Lord to give and take counsel were reimbursed for their expenses, as was John Shakeney paid for his counsel at six different occasions by the de Vere household in 1431-1432.⁶ Many other such expenses could be cited. In the Luttrell household in 1405-1406, such payments amounted to 17 li 4s 11d ob; about 8.6% of that household's yearly expenditure of 209 li 10s 4d.⁷

The household also supported the Lord's political life by the provision of necessary services. The suitable entertainment of people important to the master's career -- such as the sumptuous repast and entertainment provided at Stonor for the three justices, Tresilian, Kentwood and Francis, in 1378, when Edmund Stonor was sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire⁸ -- was certainly an important detail which consciously attached much value to the showing of "honour" and "worship" as an outward recognition of power and influence. Providing food, entertainment, accommodation, stabling, and sometimes clothing and fresh horses to visitors was often crucial to the development of a working relationship between the Lord and the recipient of these favours. Such diplomatic hospitality was not merely extended to officials or men of obvious personal stature. Edmund Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, daily entertained townspeople, tenants, merchants, and local farmers (an average of twelve such guests daily) at his various homes, building up ties of good will and mutual assistance between local communities and himself.⁹

The household also could be used to organize, as well as finance, political manoeuvres. Hugh Luttrell provisioned his troops in Wales (1405-1406)¹⁰ and France (1417)¹¹ through the Dunster household, which also arranged for food, furniture and presents to be sent by barge from Minehead to Bordeaux while Hugh served as mayor there.¹² De Vere servants frequently arranged for the escort of counsellors to come to the Lord, organizing accommodation along the way.¹³ Humphrey, first Duke of Buckingham, organized his 1439 expedition to Calais (on his way to the Flanders campaign) through the household, which not only arranged transport, food supplies and arms for his troops, but supplied tents, dishware, ironmongery and a stock of gifts for the Duke's personal use.¹⁴

Clearly such organizational functions were of paramount importance to a lord; without the household's exertion in such matters, a noble's political life could easily become bogged down in the pursuit of trivialities. However, these roles, important as they were, did not in themselves convey to householders a direct or responsible role in political action. If this organization of the mechanics of power was the sole function of the household in its master's local and national involvement, it could be quite legitimately ignored. However, the noble household also occupied more directly involved positions in its master's political career, which deserve the attention of the historian.

Perhaps the simplest active role played by the household was the provision of messengers. Unlike the royal household,¹⁵ nobles had no official messenger-service. From the performance of mundane secretarial tasks of buying, preparing, serving the Lord's political requirements, probably often without full knowledge of the significance of such provisions, individual servants could be removed temporarily from the normal sphere of household activities to carry and receive letters, to convey and return instructions, and to assess the attitudes of opposite parties. While this activity could be called a rather mechanical one, involving little initiative or involvement, one must remember that an unscrupulous or careless messenger was a dangerous thing; and at times his judgement as to how, when and before whom he might deliver a message, especially an oral one, was extremely important. Moreover, a messenger might be asked to make observations and deductions from what he saw and how he was treated. George Cavendish, acting as a harbinger for Wolsey in France, attached much importance to and was always careful to

report to Wolsey the manner of his reception, as it reflected the host's attitude to Wolsey himself.¹⁶ Several of the Paston and Stonor Letters also exhibit the importance attached to how a messenger was received, such as John Malpas' report of Paston's good treatment of him to his master the Earl of Oxford, in a land transaction.¹⁷ The servants of William Cromwell and Hugh Luttrell, in their Letters to their absent masters, conveyed their impressions of affairs abroad and at home.¹⁸

In some cases, a servant's role of messenger changed to that of ambassador or deputy for his master, making him able to treat with others concerning the message carried and make decisions, agree to undertakings, and perform duties on the Lord's behalf. Such deputizing could occur on several different levels. Edmund Stonor and Thomas Stonor II, as sheriffs of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, often deputized their servants to make arrests and carry out distresses, sometimes doing so in writing.¹⁹ Thomas Stonor's valet, on a more delicate mission, arranged matters with the justices so that a hearing was delayed until Stonor arrived.²⁰ Hugh Luttrell and William Cromwell, when absent from the realm employed servants to ride "in negociis domini pro consilio", taking counsel with various local gentry and sometimes acting upon that counsel,²¹ allowing the household considerable responsibility and scope for initiative in making important decisions about estate administration, legal matters, etc. in loco domini. Perhaps the most interesting and informative evidence concerning such deputization is that contained in the third Duke of Buckingham's letter of instructions to his chancellor, Robert Gilbert, when the latter was in London in November 1520.²² Gilbert was instructed by his master to deliver various "Letters of credence",

to speak with Wolsey and all others to whom he took these epistles, and to determine and affect the recipients' attitudes to these documents' contents, of which Gilbert was fully cognizant. Most of these concerned the Duke's desire to go to his Welsh estates with an armed retinue, for which he wanted Wolsey's consent and the support of others such as Sir Harry Owen, the royal household's Comptroller, and Sir Thomas Lovell; others involved Gilbert's getting information about the French King's and the Emperor's activities. Gilbert was also ordered to take counsel with such as Lord and Lady Fitzwalter, arrange for various loans, hire servants, mollify creditors, check up on various land sales and trading interests, order Christmas gifts for the royal court, and make personal calls on the Duke's friends and relatives. Clearly, Gilbert, and such other servants who acted as deputies for their masters, were crucial to a nobleman's ability to keep his finger on the pulse of developments at court and in the country, especially when the Lord himself was not able to be present.

Such exceptional duties required exceptional men; and we must examine the sorts of householders who became involved in these functions which took place outside the household. The simpler messenger-services can be found to be performed by any and every variety of servant. Cooks, valets, purveyors and even pages carried oral and written notices; but purveyors -- probably because of their wider knowledge of the country and the convenience of using them -- and personal chamber-servants, were perhaps employed more frequently than other sorts of servant. Hugh Luttrell's own valet, Lytelwill, and William Cromwell's personal men²³ were those especially trusted with the delicate task of gathering information to take to their absent masters.

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Servants employing conciliar deputization and undertaking delicate ambassadorial functions, however, were almost wholly drawn from the upper ranks of the householding staff. Robert Gilbert was called Chancellor of the Stafford Household; John Bacwell, often Hugh Luttrell's conciliar deputy,²⁴ was steward and chaplain; William Cromwell's chaplain John de Kyghly performed similar functions to Bacwell and Gilbert.²⁵ There are any number of good reasons for this. Higher servants were generally the more trusted people in the household, and were usually more cognizant of their master's plans and policies. They reached and held their householding positions because of their facility at organization and administration; and probably also due to their ability to communicate with and please the noble class employing them; all attributes necessary to the servant-deputy. And, of course, many of these upper servants were themselves from the gentry classes or had clerical training and were therefore literate; Gilbert was formerly a lecturer at Oxford, Kyghly was from a Lincolnshire landed family. This not only increased their masters' trust in them and allowed them greater facility in working with other nobles, and gentry, their own prestige and influence working in the master's favour, but gave them a natural desire to participate in such employment, which could further the interests of their own families and foundations and allow gentle servants the luxury of a kind of vicarious power. These same upper servants were members of their masters' councils.

We know remarkably little about baronial councils and how they worked; they have left almost no records of their activities, and surface but briefly in the documents of other administrative bodies. Indeed, the existence of such private councils was hardly recognized

by historians until 1925, when A.E. Levett first presented her paper on "Baronial Councils and their Relation to Manorial Courts".²⁶

While modern scholars have rejected Levett's view of the domestic council interfering with the work of manorial courts, introducing a "strong professional element which ultimately overthrows the older traditional system",²⁷ her description of conciliar composition and concerns still forms the basis for later chapters on the private council. Since Levett's paper was published a number of historians have written briefly on specific baronial councils,²⁸ and it has become increasingly obvious that by the mid 13th century some form of conciliar body was common to most nobles and knights. Intimately connected with the feudal obligation to give counsel, by at least the fourteenth century, when more information begins to appear, councils had acquired an executive as well as an advisory role, in administrative, legal, personal, estate and political affairs, including officials and servants as well as magnates. Nevertheless, baronial councils can still only be studied, as it were, "through a glass darkly", due to their peculiar nature. Unlike the King's Council, or other baronial, administrative individuals and bodies like receiver-generals and manor courts, the private council kept few or no records and had very little formal structure: it was essentially an "indeterminate body of varying size"²⁹ with irregular meetings and membership. Yet a definite, if not well-defined, idea of conciliar counsel and action did exist, separate from individual sanction or informal advice; the council could advise and act as an extension of the Lord himself. The peculiar formation of the baronial council was closely linked with, and perhaps sprang from, the conception of the household, and in some instances parallels the development of the

King's Council.³⁰

This ideological definition is nevertheless difficult to decipher. While some few peers --notably John of Gaunt and the fifth Earl of Northumberland -- required counsellors to take an oath and appointed them to the office by a patent or indenture, the great majority of Lords defined the membership of their council much more informally, simply requesting the persons desired to attend pro consilibus at each separate meeting; and even Lancaster and Northumberland had counsellors who never took an oath or received a letter, or were counsellors for several years before receiving any such formal confirmation.³¹ Some idea of the mediaeval conception of private counsel can, however, be discerned from existing oaths, compensation paid to counsellors, and the laws against livery and maintenance. Northumberland's counsellors were bound to give advice and make executive decisions concerning all Percy's interests. In return they received payment in a yearly fee of 100s, equal to and listed in the chequerroll with the chief officers of the household, and/or an annuity, plus bouche of court when with the Lord, and a suit of his livery appropriate to the counsellor's rank: in the NHB, equal to the Dean of Chapel. Northumberland's riding household included two counsellors, each allowed a servant and several horses as the other upper servants, giving the impression that some counsellors were almost always in attendance.³² Between 1438 and 1455 the first Duke of Buckingham listed his counsellors' fees -- which in his case varied with the status of the counsellor -- in the yearly chequerroll of the household; which fees follow the same gradations as household wages.³³ Hugh Luttrell's counsellors, from 1406 to 1428, received yearly liveries and travel expenses as well as fees or annuities.³⁴ Such retaining was legal, as the

Statues of Livery and Maintenance exempt householders from the restrictions, and also counsellors, who are, it is posited, to be counted as part of the household.³⁵ The implication is clear: while its composition and activity was flexible, depending on the Lord's needs and desires, the baronial council when it met was entitled to certain privileges under the law of the land due to its close connections with the Lord's household. The exact nature of that connection can be further explored by examining the composition of the council; when, where and how it met, how it functioned, and the results it obtained.

As indicated above (p. 250), the persons invited to sit on baronial councils fall into three categories, one of which includes householders. People of what Rosenthal calls "independent prominence",³⁶ i.e. other peers, knights, esquires and gentlemen — some of them retained in peace and war by the Lord as well as pro consilio suo — are probably the oldest element of the baronial council: the friends, relatives and comrades-in-arms, on whom he relied for advice. By at least the mid fourteenth century, however, two other elements had complemented and eventually superseded the baronial element: as the council became more of an executive body, feed lawyers and the Lord's own salaried servants swelled its ranks. The litigious nature of the later mediaeval period required most nobles to employ lawyers to manage their affairs and advise them on the best course of action in anything possibly involving civil or criminal justice. Even obscure gentry in the fifteenth century employed lawyers. The third element in the domestic council was the salaried servant. As a sort of technical expert, he was able to explicate and advise upon matters of conciliar concern, such as

the advisability of pressuring recalcitrant Welsh tenants, the paying off of large debts, and the ins and outs of organizing a military campaign. Estate and household officials, with intimate experience in such matters and the eventual responsibility of carrying out conciliar decisions, were an important part of the baronial council.

An individual council meeting averaged between eight and twenty members,³⁷ though over a year's gatherings a great magnate might pay as many as fifty to seventy-five people pro consilibus suis. The first Duke of Buckingham employed an average of twenty-nine lawyers, twenty-seven household and estate officials and thirteen of his peers and relatives to sit at conciliar meetings.³⁸ The number of counsellors tended to decrease over the span of the fifteenth century; by 1506, the third Duke of Buckingham was employing only about forty-five counsellors per annum: that is, fifteen legal men, twenty-five estate and household officers, and only about five men of "independent prominence".³⁹ The importance of the household element, however, remained strong throughout our period, if anything increasing. The nature of householders' involvement as baronial counsellors is worth examining in greater detail.

In most councils it was the chief officers of the household who attended: the steward, chaplain, comptroller, treasurer, and secretary. As well as their special knowledge and expertise in areas concerning the council, the personal backgrounds of such officers -- men like Sir William Knivet, the third Duke of Buckingham's chancellor, and Phillip Fitzlowes, the thirteenth Earl of Oxford's steward -- often made them important men in themselves, whose opinion was worth seeking due to their own influence and authority. But men

such as William Wistowe⁴⁰ (Buckingham's Treasurer) and John Bacwell (Hugh Luttrell's steward/chaplain), of yeoman stock, were as active in the councils as their better-born fellow-householders, and it was probably for their professional knowledge and advice that householders were invited to take part in baronial council-sessions. However, other household servants besides these top officials were feed pro consilio suo. Hugh Luttrell's chamber servants (John Hunte and Michael Strecche in 1405-1406,⁴¹ and William Frauncys in 1419,⁴² for instance) often attended council meetings or rode abroad to take counsel for their master. William Cromwell⁴³ and Robert Radcliffe's⁴⁴ valets were also feed pro consilio, as were the gentleman-ushers of both the twelfth and thirteenth Earls of Oxford.⁴⁵ Often well-born and always in close proximity to the Lord, such personal servants are obvious choices as confidantes and councillors.

The first Duke of Buckingham, however, presents us with a peculiarly extreme example of payments pro consilio to householders. Of the twenty householders in 1453 and the fifteen in 1455,⁴⁶ most are typical, indeed obvious choices -- stewards, valets, treasurers, and other highly-placed individuals, or those quite close to the Duke's service. But payments pro consilio suo were also given to such householders as the Duke's cook, baker, stable groom, and even a page-boy; all of whom were of humble origins. The phrase pro consilio is entered next to each individual clearly, and does not appear to be a scribal error; indeed, outside the household the Duke paid fees pro consilio suo to yeoman farmers and humble craftsmen. The sums these folk received are much smaller than those of more orthodox counsellors but are everywhere in accord with the recipient's status and his other fees. It is difficult to see such

simple people, whose advice would have seemed of little use in conciliar concerns, sitting down with such men as Sir John Mainwaring and James, Lord Audeley.⁴⁷ Perhaps it refers to informal questions put them by the Duke or his council about such things as cuts of meat, the best place to buy hay, or the attitudes of tenants to a new official; or it could refer to those brought before the council in session, in a more formal manner. For instance, if the council was trying to determine a household budget for the next year, it might invite the cook to answer questions about seasonal difficulties, kitchen wastage, etc. Such fees might also indicate payments made to tenants and household servants for their gossip about what they saw and heard of the great. William Paston, householder to the thirteenth Earl of Oxford, kept his brother John Paston well-informed of the Earl's attitudes and movements; and Paston's own servants reported to him the gossip of the Earl's men in 1469, concerning the uneasy relations between Edward IV and Oxford: "they say they are friends, but his (Oxford's) household says otherwise".⁴⁸ Certainly, Henry VIII, at a later date, made use of his lower servants in this respect, sending a yeoman usher and sewer to inquire into the conduct of William Kendall a supporter of the Marquess of Exeter, in 1538, by "secretly inquiring"; talking with local innkeepers and farmers, and with Kendall's and the Marquess' own servants.⁴⁹

The Stonors' council was unusual in the other direction. While most families show a clear tendency to consult their chief householders and personal servants, the Stonors, between 1378 and 1483, had only one servant on their council, as far as can now be determined — Christopher Holland, the first recognizable household steward (from 1478) employed by the household.⁵⁰ Indeed, Elizabeth Stonor wrote to

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her husband that "(it) was not fyttynge to have such language fore any servant".⁵¹ This reticence may be due to the simplicity of Stonor household structure, which provided servants with little in the way of administrative experience; and to the lack of both well-born servants and of any executive household officers; with the exception of the Stonor chaplains, Christopher Holland was the only household servant they had who was sufficiently versed in the overall administration of the Stonor holdings to be of any use to Sir William as a counsellor.

In general, however, householders featured as an important and large section of the private council during the fifteenth century, just as they did in royal and ecclesiastical councils. Indeed, some evidence exists to show that householders became the most influential and active baronial counsellors by the late 1400's. J.R. Lander⁵² and others have shown that in the King's Council under Edward IV and Richard III, household officials were probably the greatest single element at any one meeting, and that at the majority of meetings householders were all but the only members present, handling the most mundane, day-to-day duties of that body. Something similar may have occurred in baronial councils. Certainly by 1507 the third Duke of Buckingham was relying chiefly upon his household men for advice and executive men. For three of the meetings held at Thornbury in 1507 and 1508, seven of the fourteen present were household servants;⁵³ a paper describing one of the last of the Duke's Council meetings, 26 October 1520 (contained among the papers gathered for his trial),⁵⁴ shows that all those present were householders, with the exception of Thomas Cade, the receiver-general who had but recently served as a householder to the Duke.⁵⁵ Pugh

makes much the same point for the counsellors of Jasper Tudor.⁵⁶

Certainly householders, being intimately involved in the carrying-out of many conciliar concerns, and often of landholding families of influence with similar problems, were well-able to advise their masters on most things. Moreover, a Lord, knowing these men with whom he lived from day to day, was able to gauge their interests, foibles, abilities and prejudices with some clarity in considering the merit of their advice. Furthermore, they were easily available to the Lord, unlike busy and peripatetic estate officials and lawyers, or other nobles with their own problems and concerns. The baronial council, then, was not ideologically attached to the household, but in the main was heavily recruited from householders.

The basically informal nature of the baronial council, in its conceptualization and composition, is also manifest in its procedures. The questions of whether, when, and how conciliar meetings took place are complicated ones, because of the scarcity of documentary material and the very loose structure of the private council itself. Baronial councils do not seem to have had a fixed number of meetings per annum, nor were the specific dates of such gatherings or their general timetable firmly established; indeed, councils do not even seem to have agreed upon the date of the next meeting at the previous one. Initiative lay with the Lord, who called together his council as and when he pleased. Councils probably met more frequently and with greater regularity in the case of a minority or a lord absent from the country, for whom the council would stand as a governing body; but usually a mother, widow, brother or other lordly guardian ultimately controlled the estates and heir, and also commanded the movements of the council. The dowager Countess of Stafford, for

instance, called the council meetings that dealt with her young son's affairs.⁵⁷ Variation in conciliar gatherings is probably due to the several motives for calling a council. A noble might gather his advisors for a general meeting to deal with a variety of day to day business, and such mundane meetings might be expected to fall into some sort of annual pattern. However, Lords frequently called councils to deal with a specific crisis: of the eight documented Luttrell councils between 1401 and 1431, four were called to cope with various legal wrangles over which Hugh and also Margaret, his daughter-in-law, required advice and support.⁵⁸ Such problems were no respectors of timetables. Moreover, once together, a lord and his council might also deal with less pressing matters, rather than hold these over for a more general meeting. Thus from year to year and within a year councils show little regularity in gathering; though the bulk of councils occur in the early autumn, at the time of the annual audit and the beginning of Hilary term in the law courts.

Conciliar sessions differed, not only in motive for but in form of meeting. For some nobles, especially for dukes and earls, like the Duke of Buckingham, three modifications of the council appear: the great council, the privy council and the "council lerned". In the Duke's conciliar abstract of 1500,⁵⁹ certain of the lord's affairs are referred to the great council or the "council lerned" by individual officials or conciliar committees. The latter dealt especially with legal questions, such as arbitration with tenants of Chepstow over the way in which they held their land,⁶⁰ by John Mowbray's legal councillors in 1415; and seems to refer to a council meeting composed chiefly or entirely of lawyers. The great

council is harder to define, business from allowing expenses of estate officials to private arbitration between magnates being referred to it; but it probably signifies a conciliar session including a large number and variety of counsellors who could provide wide-ranging advice and technical information to enable the lord to settle thorny problems.⁶¹ The third Duke of Buckingham also used the term "privy council", as did the fifth Earl of Northumberland; this seems to indicate a meeting of no more than ten people to deal chiefly with personal, familial or secret matters⁶² and seems to be parallel in development with the royal privy council. The third Duke of Buckingham's council, reported upon at his trial, and held in November 1520, composed of seven householders and a receiver-general,⁶³ may have been what was meant by a privy council. While one must wish for more specific instances of privy council meetings before drawing any conclusions, it is nevertheless understandable that Lords should depend upon householders and others with whom they were in most intimate contact as their closest advisors.

Counsellors, as an extension of their Lord's mind and desires, could also stand in loco domini out of his presence, conferring with others for the Lord and having the power to make some decisions independently. The Staffords, de Veres and Ralph Lord Cromwell sent out conciliar bodies on special commissions to examine their extensive holdings, giving these commissions power to hear and settle questions usually brought before manorial or common-law courts, in an attempt to bring some rapid order among their tenantry. Most fifteenth-century valors were prepared by such conciliar commissions.⁶⁴ Indeed, evidence that such practices were becoming widespread exists as early as the fourteenth-century, when peasants can be found claiming

that baronial councils were forcing them to bring their claims thither rather than to more traditional judicial bodies.⁶⁵ This and similar evidence⁶⁶ supports Levett's hypothesis of the weakening of manorial courts through the actions of the council, but is not generally upheld: baronial commissions, while not unusual, were generational events usually instituted after a long minority or absence in order to tighten up resultant slackness and confusion.⁶⁷

Individual counsellors could also represent their master in various capacities. James Goldwell Bishop of Norwich, summoned to the King's Council in 1520, was bidden to send one of his own counsellors if unable to attend personally.⁶⁸ Nobles seem to have exercised a similar option. Hugh Luttrell sent his servant John Lawtye to take counsel for him with Richard Popham in 1406;⁶⁹ another of his householders, William Frauncys esquire, also a council member, did the same in 1419 with various local gentry.⁷⁰ William Cromwell, when in France in 1417, paid his steward and counsellor John Horseth, among others, in consilibus expensis.⁷¹ Robert Radcliffe settled a problem of estate boundaries with the little Duke of York by means of his valet, who as Radcliffe's counsellor met with two personal household servants and counsellors of the Duke in 1473.⁷²

The various types and motives of councils, as well as the semi-peripatetic existence of much of the nobility, meant that council meetings could be held in a variety of places. The great councils of the Dukes of Buckingham usually met in London in order to accommodate the feed lawyers -- clerks of the Chancery and Exchequer -- and to be near the Duke's chief treasuries.⁷³ Conciliar commissions were chiefly peripatetic, travelling around the relevant estates. Smaller conciliar meetings were held at the

Lord's chief seats, i.e. Stonor, Dunster, Castle Hedingham, etc. Councils called to deal with special crises could meet at the crucial spot, for instance, the Luttrell councils held at Yenelchester⁷⁴ for the assizes when Hugh was contesting the ownership of Dunster,⁷⁵ and Margaret's Taunton-based councils for her love-days with the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and her mother-in-law.⁷⁶ The extremely flexible nature of the baronial council is perhaps best illustrated in this its ability to mold itself to requirements of place and circumstance.

The procedure of council meetings must naturally have been as flexible, though we know little about it, as baronial councils had no clerk to take minutes, nor did it keep any written records systematically. A rogue abstract of conciliar business for the third Duke of Buckingham's council in 1500, and Wolsey's report on the same peer's council meeting of 1520,⁷⁷ however, illustrate some basic points of conciliar procedure which do not differ greatly from what we know of royal conciliar procedures.⁷⁸ The former sets itself out as a list of questions, or articuli, based on various petitions or observations of Lord or council, with answers, information, advice on reports of action taken; it was probably composed shortly after the actual meeting took place, by a conciliar commission dealing with the matter contained. Clearly this massively-comprehensive gathering, dealing with everything from rents in Newport to the enforcement of homage for knight's service, was organized around a set agenda, built on paperwork through which the council worked, making decisions and handing out duties, sometimes tabling an item for a later date or another type of council. The smaller, more informal meeting of 1520 began after dinner at Thornbury and was held in the dining hall; but it too was organized

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around a set of paperwork which the counsellors came prepared to deal with, bringing their relevant books as Edward had previously instructed them. It would seem, then, that councils were organized according to some kind of pre-arranged agenda whose items were communicated to participants beforehand, to allow them to prepare, though how the agenda was set and what rules of order were followed in attending to it, is less clear.

These privy and great and learned councils, composed of lawyers, nobles and officials: what kind of business did they handle, and were they successful at doing so? Councils in the later middle ages were essentially executive as well as advisory: that is, they not only gave suggestions, but made and carried out long-term policies, and could act in the Lord's place, with considerable scope for initiative. We know more about the council's estate work than its other business, as this aspect has generated most paperwork; but various problems concerning lands certainly took up a great deal of conciliar time and energy. At any council meeting members might have to settle such things as boundary disputes with other Lords, as did the council of the third Duke of Buckingham with the council of Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, in 1492;⁷⁹ debate pleas of expenses by estate ministers; recommend building plans and expenses; and hear the petitions of tenants. Once or twice a year the council assisted at the audit, as any yearly account can show, settling pleas of expenses and dealing with lax officials and debtors. In addition a number of counsellors might be sent out as a commission to specially investigate the Lord's estates, being given the power to "give, to sell and to do with the aforesaid goods and chattels what they shall see to be best",⁸⁰ as the Earl of Northampton ordered.

On such commissions counsellors took valors, examined the decay of property and arranged for repairs, searched out defaulters, took sureties and obligations, examined the faults of ministers such as extortion, and discovered the customs regarding landholding on various estates. While not a court of law and therefore theoretically (though not practically) unable to demand written evidence or imprison, councils did hold courts of their own or controlled others:⁸¹ the third Duke of Buckingham's in 1500, held two honour courts of the Lordship of Huntingdon,⁸² and the Clare Earl of Gloucester and Hereford's council tried cases with the sheriff in the Cardiff county court as early as 1299.⁸³ Tenants, as described above, complained against these conciliar courts, claiming they were unlawful; but often found that they were faster and simpler than common-law or manorial courts, and could be remarkably fair in their decisions.⁸⁴

The councils of the North, and the Marches of Wales, were really formalized versions of magnates' personal councils, put into service to cope with the special problems of these borders in much the same fashion described above. Such commissions, however, outside such difficult areas, were generational rather than regular in occurrence, being used at a lord's inception or majority to clear up outstanding cases and set to rights the abuses of a generation, and never seriously threatened either common-law or manorial court justice.⁸⁵

Councils also managed their masters' domestic and personal affairs. It was the Duke of Lancaster's council which appointed household officials in the late 14th and early 15th centuries.⁸⁶ William Stonor's council was charged with appointing a steward in 1477;⁸⁷ the de Vere councils established household wages and the

overall budget, and looked into the state of the vineyard at Hedingham;⁸⁸ and the fifth Percy Earl of Northumberland's council which drew up the Northumberland Household Book, establishing Household policy and organization.⁸⁹ In the Stafford accounts, especially those of the first Duke, the phrase, in, or per, consilibus denar' occurs next to many household as well as estate payments; it seems to indicate that money agreed to be allowed to be dispensed after consideration by the Lord and his council. The same phrase is not uncommonly found in other estate and household accounts. (Though it could authorize the flow of cash, the council had no treasury or any physical access to money, only individual counsellors receiving payments). Sometimes counsellors also formed part of the witnesses, executors and feoffees of their masters' wills,⁹⁰ becoming in the case of a minority an extremely important body, though they governed under the guidance of a widow or other relative or guardian. Such executor/counsellor wardship was one reason behind the continuity in land tenure practices and administrative policies among the Stonor and Stafford families, despite long minorities in the fifteenth century.⁹¹

Most councils were also in charge of their masters' legal business. In the fifteenth century any one noble was likely to have several cases going to court at any given time: his counsellors gave advice on how to approach particular disputes; the lawyers among them handled the cases passage through the courts; and the council could also settle cases out of court by independent arbitration, in which they could be surprisingly detached. The third Duke of Buckingham's council advised him to pay recompense to Sir Edward Chamberlain for his lost claim to the manor of

Penshurst.⁹² Counsellors knowledgeable in law could also advise on and warn about the legality of various policies, and whether these would be likely to draw the lord into a court case, and how he would fare in that instance.

Councils also advised their masters on political situations and helped them to execute various political manoeuvres. As their representatives they attended royal and other noble councils to discuss policy and make alliances; they could act as arbitrators to settle disputes, as when the Earl of Hereford and Gloucester's council met with the council of Archbishop Peckham in 1284 to settle their disagreements and bring about an alliance,⁹³ or when the Abbot of St. Albans' council met with the rebellious people of the town of St. Albans in order to come to terms with the disgruntled inhabitants.⁹⁴ Perhaps more frequently, councils made decisions on political appointments and policies. John of Gaunt's council on several occasions appointed the Chancellor of the county palatine of Lancaster,⁹⁵ and also regularly advised the Duke on possible representatives for knights of the shire.⁹⁶ The Pastons believed the Duke of Norfolk's council was responsible for temporarily modifying his actions against them after his first furious assault upon Caister.⁹⁷ In 1483, the second Duke of Buckingham was guided in his complex political manoeuvres in that summer by his council, and it was from the gentry among them -- men like Sir William Knivet and Sir Ralph Bannaster -- that what little support he had for his rebellion against Richard III, came.⁹⁸

Perhaps the best indicator of the council's political influence lies in the warnings of men like Sir John Fortescue,⁹⁹ Bishop Pecock,¹⁰⁰ Edward IV¹⁰¹ and Lord Strange,¹⁰² who believed that a

lord could become a catspaw of his own council, whose members "served themselves and told the Lord what he wanted to hear".¹⁰³ The influence of the baronial council is made manifest in such remarks.

The household as a whole, as well as responsible individuals, had an important part to play in its lord's political career, by its very existence forming a crucial element in the master's public image. Sydney Anglo and others have written recently and at length about the motives behind conspicuous consumption in mediaeval and early modern Europe, and it is inappropriate and unnecessary here to introduce a prolonged discussion of the significance of pageantry and spectacle.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, the use of clothing and other ornamentation, displays of prowess and massed groups of people, in order to impress allies and foes is common to all cultures, primitive and complex, and is not far-removed in spirit from the mating dance of the peacock or the aggression-displays of the baboon,¹⁰⁵ though considerably more complex in method and motive. In the fifteenth century, however, royal and noble constructions of self-images were of a particularly extravagant and obvious nature, and moreover directly involved their households. All our five families used their households, both to create and to itself form a visible, tangible expression of the Lord's power.

As in so many other aspects, the mediaeval noble household financed and organized displays of pageantry calculated to impress. The embroidered cloaks provided for Hugh Luttrell's personal attendants in 1424¹⁰⁶ were ordered and paid for by the Dunster steward. The thirteenth Earl of Oxford's entertainment of Henry VII at Hedingham in 1488 was financed and organized by the Earl's

householders.¹⁰⁷ The Duke of Buckingham's magnificent appearance on the field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, his own dress covered in little silver bells and his train hardly less sumptuously attired, was purchased, designed and constructed by the wardrobe of the great household at London and Thornbury.¹⁰⁸ In large households such arrangements required specialized servants: musicians, players, tumblers, fools, and, in the third Duke of Buckingham's household a "disguiser",¹⁰⁹ an equivalent to the Royal household's Master of the Revels.

Besides the role of stage-hand, however, the household also had a main acting part in the exemplification of noble power. Because of the closeness of the household to the lord, it was at once the most obvious and easiest, and the most significant, group of people on which the master could illustrate his magnificentia; this body, frequently seen and closely associated with its master, gave to the world a telling picture of what it might expect from the noble in question. A well or poorly-administered estate was less striking, and less indicative to contemporaries, of a Lord's power and intentions than a well-dressed and courteous, or poorly-turned out and insolent, servant.

Lords used their households to display their magnificence in a number of ways, of which perhaps the most obvious is livery of cloth. By the comfort and grandeur of these garments, and by the massed effect of numerous servants all in the Lord's colours, livery promised generosity and good living to the prospective retainer, and exhibited the extent of the master's influence and charismatic drawing-power, as well as his potential force-of-arms (especially in those households where the cut of cloth indicated -- thanks to

the frame of mind which created sumptuary laws -- gently-born servants whose own families and friends might provide a further network of influence and support). The extreme nervousness about the abuse of the wearing of livery reflects in a very real sense the symbolic and the actual significance of uniforms. Laws of livery and maintenance strictly limiting and controlling the wearing of livery, a sign of maintenance,¹¹⁰ never extended to householders; and all Lords, from William Stonor to Edward Stafford, dressed their domestic servants in the livery of their various individual colours.

Domestic arrangements could be manipulated to impress the observer, and were, especially in the larger households. The sheer number of servants could impress: as the Pastons, corresponding on the structure of the thirteenth Earl of Oxford in 1470-1471, make clear in their descriptions of his large retinue.¹¹¹ The ceremony with which a lord was attended could also produce the required impression: George Cavendish's description of the progress of a visitor to Wolsey, past the inspection of various ushers and valets, through a series of ever-more-lavishly furnished chamber into the august presence of the Cardinal, whose personal servants washed, dressed and served him with quasi-royal attention,¹¹² is echoed in the chequerrolls of such as the third Duke of Buckingham¹¹³ and the fifth Earl of Northumberland,¹¹⁴ which list ushers of inner, outer and personal chambers, valets of the ewer, valets of the towel, etc. Such extreme activities were of course typical only of the highest nobility; but even in the simple farmhouse at Tydd, respect in serving could create a good impression.

Generous hospitality was, however, probably the most useful and widespread way of nobles' conspicuous consumption; putting up,

feeding and entertaining guests, whether it be through the masques, dances, "revels" and feasts given in honour of Henry VIII at Penhurst in 1519 by the third Duke of Buckingham¹¹⁵ or the same Lord's daily invitations when at Thornbury to local burgesses and farmers;¹¹⁶ Edmund Stonor's keeping of three justices of the common pleas in 1378;¹¹⁷ or Lady Catherine Luttrell's entertainment of William Harleston, a prospective son-in-law, in 1405.¹¹⁸ The efficiency and gentility (or lack thereof) offered by the household in the provision of such hospitality, as well as the quality of the hospitality itself, would affect those whom the Lord was attempting to impress.

But perhaps the mediaeval noble was best able to use his household as a token of his strength when he was on the road with them. The sight of anything from thirty to two hundred people on horseback and in carts, moving in cavalcade, must have been impressive; if that massed body was armed, liveried, well-horsed, and proceeded in good order, how much more impressive. Nobles were fond of using travel to their advantage, particularly when they could make political capital out of it. Not only the greater peers, but men like Hugh Luttrell and John Paston, purchased new livery, horses and accoutrements for their household to enter London in style, especially when coming to Parliament.¹¹⁹ The third Duke of Buckingham rode in 1507-1508, from Thornbury to London with sixty-three servants; they rode in small parties to Richmond, but here assembled to enter London in an orderly and no doubt impressive cavalcade.¹²⁰ Such processions, probably the single most attractive form of pageantry practised by the household, both enhanced a noble's public image and provided a popular barometer by

which his power could be measured. Indeed such parades accompanying Lords into Parliament were believed to intimidate that gathering and were eventually regulated by statute, restricting their size and arms.¹²¹

Conspicuous consumption, pageantry, spectacle worked not merely by bedazzlement, by some sort of irrational stimulation of pleasure; it provided a kind of language by which the observer could make practical assessments. By such displays, nobles were able to advertise quite accurately the extent of their wealth and status; they could, especially when riding, make known their potential armed strength; they could exhibit through the persons of their servants the extent of their affinity, and to prospective retainers their generosity was apparent in the size, fine attire and bearing of their immediate followers -- the household.

War occurs when political systems break down or disintegrate; and in war, as in other aspects of a Lord's political career, the household and householders participated. We have already discussed their role in purveying and arranging transport for armies very much as the King's wardrobe of the Household might take over the treasury of wars; but also, householders actively participated in battle, as attendants, administrative staff and soldiers, though in no household of the fifteenth century can servants employed specifically as part of a standing army, bodyguard, or indeed anything more aggressive than a porter, be detected. In 1469, when the Pastons were trying to protect Caister castle from the Duke of Norfolk, they hired professional soldiers to act as a small garrison.¹²² In addition to outside services, however, householders of all descriptions, from pages to chamberlains to stewards, actively assisted their

masters in armed defence and attack, both in England and abroad.

Among the litigious nobility, property squabbles and personal grievances, 'labouring' through the law courts, could erupt into violence; and in these petty 'wars' servants were often the chief militia. Margaret Paston's valiant defence of the manor of Gresham against Lord Moleyn's men in 1449-1450 is well-known to historians;¹²³ and her letters show that the billhooks, arrows, javelins, etc. already in Gresham and sent from London were employed by her household servants. The besiegers, as well, seem to have been composed chiefly of Moleyn's own householders.¹²⁴ William Stonor seems to have used his servants in the same way: in a quarrel over the manor of Fawley (Hants.) with his uncle, Thomas Rokes, Stonor's steward Christopher Holland and two other servants poached in Rokes' park there, raided the cottages of some tenants of his,¹²⁵ and as the culmination of hostilities William "with divers of his servants armed with swords, arcubuses, arrows, bills and glives and other weaponry",¹²⁶ attacked and caused a riot at Fawley, "making great damage".¹²⁷ William Stonor was also requested by his estate steward, Henry Makeney, to send "a good lad or two"¹²⁸ from among his servants to deal with an attack on a Stonor manor by a local farmer who claimed the land, of whom Mackeney said there was "open war between them".¹²⁹ Stonor's "good lads" -- including his steward, a chamberlain and a cook, made short work of the aggressor's own men, using what seems to have been a formidable armoury at Stonor. Fifteenth century statutes on retinues attending masters at Parliament speak of riots between such rival groups.¹³⁰ While it would be wrong to suggest that such full-scale attacks were typical of a fifteenth-century householder's everyday duties, they seem to have been perfectly able and willing to take

part in these personal battles: and in all likelihood were made particularly adept by that sort of minor violence and threats required to subdue recalcitrant tenants, which they employed in their supposedly more peaceful aspects of their varied duties from collecting rents and debts, subduing creditors, and performing missions for their masters as sheriffs and justices.¹³¹ With cooks and ushers of such violent capabilities, it is perhaps not surprizing that no specific bodyguards or house guards were required in the noble household.

Household servants could also become active participants in warfare on a national scale, both at home and abroad, much as the royal households were involved in the King's financing and running of wars.¹³² In 1405 and 1406, when the French and Spanish were busily raiding the coasts of the Bristol Channel and Southern England, John Bacwell, steward of Dunster Castle, organized the restoration and fortification of Dunster Castle, and the purchase of arms and armour for the household to defend it, should the enemy sail up as far as Dunster Port (quite a feasible proposition in the early fifteenth century).¹³³ During the civil wars of the later fifteenth century, the thirteenth Earl of Oxford, in 1469, 1470, 1473 and 1485,¹³⁴ and the second Duke of Buckingham in 1483¹³⁵ found the core of their armies in their households, and some of their last loyal troops came from the same bodies. In 1486, the thirteenth Earl also took many of his householders in his company when he marched into Yorkshire to put down the rebellion of Francis, Viscount Lovell.¹³⁶

In some cases householders followed their masters overseas in pursuit of battle. Certainly the first Duke of Buckingham took his riding household on the Flanders campaign of 1439, where it acted as

purveyor of foodstuffs, arms and equipment to his troops, and as his own treasury of wars and administrative staff.¹³⁷ Hugh Luttrell's chamberlain and in-law, Michael Strecche, was part of his cousin's company in France in 1417,¹³⁸ and Luttrell's¹³⁹ and William Cromwell's¹⁴⁰ personal servants travelled between England and France, bringing messages, food, money and news to and from their warring masters. A Lord's gentle servants were of course particularly valuable (or dangerous) in war; not merely because they themselves were likely to be well-trained in its arts, but because they might have significant connections with allies or enemies, and because they might be able to bring their own affinity into the Lord's ranks. Surely this was the import of the third Duke of Buckingham's reassurance to Wolsey in 1520 concerning his projected expedition into Wales with a force of 300 men in order to assert control over his estates: that they would merely by "myn own officers, tenants, gentleman servants of smalle stature".¹⁴¹ Certainly Wolsey may have had good cause to fear: in 1486 one of de Vere's "gentleman servants of small stature", John Aynthorp esquire, was able to bring 6 men to fight for the Earl.¹⁴²

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The role of the household in its master's political career was advantageous not only to the masters but to the servants, in a number of ways. The sumptuous livery and splendid foods which helped to bolster a Lord's political image also gave his men a high degree of comfort and a great deal of personal prestige, equalling or increasing the standard of living into which they were born. A Lord's political influence could obtain for a servant he favoured useful personal and professional advancement, such as that

accorded to Thomas Denys, a servant of the twelfth Earl of Oxford, who in 1457 managed to marry a Norfolk heiress of considerably higher rank than himself through Earl John's efforts.¹⁴³ Similarly, Thomas Hextall obtained a seat in Parliament for the town of Dover through the good offices of his master the first Duke of Buckingham in 1448; indeed between 1400 and 1521, ninety-three Stafford ex-householders sat in the Commons¹⁴⁴ (though, as numerous historians have pointed out, Lords were not able to indiscriminately appoint MPs, despite their influence¹⁴⁵). The Patronage of a head of household could also extend to a servant's family. William Paston, a gentleman-usher to the thirteenth Earl of Oxford for sixteen years, regularly passed on to his family news of Oxford's political manoeuvres, and strengthened, in all likelihood, the Earl's continued Patronage of the Pastons;¹⁴⁶ William acting as an intermediary between his brother and master.

The political collapse of a noble seldom seems, however, to have brought down permanently his householders, who switched their loyalties rapidly and, it seems, without stigma. William Hastings' men immediately attached themselves to the second Duke of Buckingham in 1482;¹⁴⁷ and everyone is familiar with the career of Thomas Cromwell, whose rapid desertion of Cardinal Wolsey after years as his chief personal assistant and secretary was equalled only by his swift rise under Henry VIII after Wolsey's fall from influence.¹⁴⁸

Finally, for many servants with ambition, especially those with genteel backgrounds and expectations, involvement in their masters' political schemes provided a kind of vicarious power. While their influence and authority was at best second-hand, householders could and did receive personal respect and interest from

other sycophants, reflected from master onto servant. As in many other areas in which the household was an important factor, the close domestic bond transcended the boundaries of birth and afforded to household servants a modicum of political pretensions; and sometimes allowed them to cast down the mighty from their seats. The third Duke of Buckingham was executed on the evidence of three dismissed household servants concerning his secret conversations and remarks, and his secret visits to his confessor, a fortune-teller.¹⁴⁹ Ralph Cromwell was brought to trial for treason in 1452 on the testimony of his former chaplain.¹⁵⁰ The thirteenth Earl of Oxford was nearly captured in Essex in 1471 by the triumphant Edward IV, due to his chaplain's capture of the Earl's private papers, which were turned over to the Duke of Norfolk.¹⁵¹ The second Duke of Buckingham's hiding-place after the disaster of 1483 was betrayed by his own retainer.¹⁵² Both the contemporary recognition of a household's special knowledge of a Lord's private attitudes and secret manoeuvres, and the effective use householders could make of such knowledge, illustrate the extent to which households were involved in the political careers of their noble masters.

Chapter IX

The Household as a Religious Community

From the earliest days of Christianity, the domestic community has served as a unit of worship. The New Testament letters of Paul, and the writings of such church fathers as Augustine and Jerome, assume that religious training and celebration was based in the household. This picture of the family group, encompassing servants as well as parents and children, is relatively constant throughout the history of Christian Europe; particularly, one is reminded of the Puritan concept of the family, the nineteenth-century observance of family prayer, and the modern slogan, "The family that prays together, stays together". In the later middle ages, the English aristocracy also accepted that their household should be a religious as well as a domestic community, and took steps to see that this should be put into practice. This ideal of the household was stimulated by several factors. First of all, as always the household existed to serve its master; and he had Christian duties to fulfil, whether through a sense of obligation, self-aggrandizement, or personal piety; Lords used their households to administer those duties. Thus the household paid out alms and annuities to religious foundations, saw to the arrangement of major festivals, and financed and organized a regular liturgical system.

Religious activity within the household probably increased throughout the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The personalization of Christianity, especially among the aristocracy -- as expressed in the astounding increase in private Books of Hours, portable altars, statuary and relics owned by the laity, etc. -- seems to indicate a general movement in religious feeling, towards a

more intimate and personal relationship with God, a more immediate part in the church's liturgical practices; perhaps in the face of preoccupation with the fear of death and concern with the afterlife, especially escape from purgatory, so prevalent in Europe during and after the great plague years.¹ Individuals could try to approximate, through pious meditation, that closeness to God, described by such mystics as the author of The Cloud of Unknowing, and Mother Julian of Norwich, through the exercise of pietistic practises by themselves or by their instigation. The aristocracy seems to have done so largely through their households, using them both as passive organizers of such practices as daily office, mass, and prayers for the dead, and also as active participants in these, adding their prayers and good works to the Lord's. In this manner the household could become not only a simple administrator of its master's pietistic duties, but in itself it could function as a religious community for its own salvation, and that of its Lord, both in private, individual or group devotions, and in more public semi-liturgical activities such as pilgrimages and processions.

That household piety is a Christian commonplace, we know, and that mediaeval Lords were interested in applying the concept to their own establishments. The third Duke of Buckingham, for instance, posited in his chequerroll of 1519 that all householders were to attend mass daily, as "no good governaunce in politik rule may be had, without service to God as well".² The fifth Percy Earl of Northumberland, in his book of household ordinance, expressed a similar sentiment; several fifteenth and sixteenth century royal ordinances, and most courtesy books for young courtiers, also echo this.³ The difficulty lies in showing whether this ideal remained

unfulfilled, or whether the mediaeval household did indeed have a specifically Christian as well as a domestic identity. In the end we have little unambiguous evidence; but we can examine the means of religious observance available in the household, and study some of the motivations to use these means.

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In the nineteenth century morning and evening prayers were often said in the dining room, where the family and servants could congregate most easily.⁴ In the middle ages the gentry and nobility had far more elaborate accoutrements available, the means for a particularly full religious observance: the building, the implements, and the staff. Even Robert Melton, a wealthy but not exceptional yeoman farmer, had a small room set aside as a chapel for his tiny household;⁵ one would be hard-pressed to find a gentle or noble establishment devoid of a building or room for worship. Technically, private chapels required a licence from a bishop before mass could be celebrated in them; but episcopal registers do not seem to be a very good guide to the existence of such chapels, as it seems that in many, mass was regularly held without any licence being purchased, or at any rate recorded. For instance, the Luttrells had two active chapels within the walls of Dunster Castle; but no licence for either is traceable in the near-perfect set of registers for the diocese of Exeter. Similarly, the earliest licence recorded for the Stonor family's chapel is for 1349, which allowed it six chaplains, but mass was celebrated there as early as 1331,⁶ and its style indicates that the building itself probably dates from the mid-thirteenth century, and is possibly even older.⁷ Despite the relatively low incidence of registered private chapels, therefore, one usually finds that aristocratic households

contained at least one chapel, with all the liturgical paraphernalia needed for mass.⁸

These chapels could be anything from a "closet" or small room adapted as a chapel, to a separate building in the size and style of a parish church; and often, within a single castle or manor-house, there was more than one. The oldest are those in Keeps, dating from 1100 to 1300 approximately, such as occur at Dunster and Castle Hedingham; they are largely similar in concept to those more well-known royal ones at the White Tower, London, and in Castle Rising, Norfolk. While many of these are architectural gems, they are generally extremely small, being fitted into the little space available in a thick-walled keep designed for warlike, not religious, exercises. The old chapel at Dunster was fitted into a small tower-room, over the entrance of the Norman shell-keep, and probably measured no more than ten feet square.⁹ Before 1350, some larger, generally wooden chapels were constructed in baileys; but it is generally after this date (Stonor being a pertinent exception) that large stone chapels were erected, such building being especially common during the fifteenth century. Often free-standing or but partly-attached to the main body of the dwelling, these are distinguished by their surprising size, comparable to a parish church. That at Stonor measures fifty-seven feet long by nineteen feet wide, and had at least three side-altars;¹⁰ that at Hedingham (now only the foundations are visible) as long and somewhat wider.¹¹ The size of these later mediaeval chapels may tell us something about mass attendance in the household; they coincide in date with the beginning of a steady increase in the number of household servants.¹² While the fifth Earl of Oxford in c. 1290 may have

been able to fit his household of around forty-five in the keep chapel at Castle Hedingham, the one-hundred and twenty employed by the thirteenth Earl in the 1480's would never have managed. The much-larger bailey chapel may have been built to accommodate a growing congregation. On the other hand, such chapels may be explained by a growth in personal religious practises; the prestige-value of a new and obvious chapel, and/or the general domestic-building phenomenon of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which was marked especially by an increase in space and luxury.¹³

The older chapels were not, however, de-sanctified, but continued as active houses of religion. In the same year (1405-1406) that he finished the new bailey chapel of St. Lawrence at Dunster, Sir Hugh Luttrell spent 2 li 7s 5d on the repair and refurbishing of the old keep-chapel;¹⁴ he later supplied it with new vestments and plate.¹⁵ Throughout the fifteenth century, other additional chapels, besides the old keep-rooms and the new, larger buildings, were set up -- many of them "privy" chapels, such as that dedicated to St. George at Stonor,¹⁶ and the "closet chapel" at Castle Hedingham, in which the Earls of Oxford said prayers with their chamber-servants or alone. In fact Castle Hedingham had, by 1513, at least four chapels in use, fully fitted with liturgical gear.¹⁷

Chapels often seem to have served as treasuries for the household; the Stonors kept their books of French, History and Romances, as well as mass-books, in the chapel, and the Staffords stored numerous, important household and estate papers in the chapels at Maxstoke and Thornbury.¹⁸ This was probably because of the chapel's often stoutly-defensive position in the grounds, and because

use could be made of the strong-boxes and the guardian-sacristan already provided for the safety of the precious adornments and liturgical accoutrements. The de Vere wills of 1513 and 1537 list a particularly impressive collection of such items: silver crucifixes, gold church plate, loose and set jewels, vestments of silk, velvet and damask; illuminated psalters and missals, and at least twenty-three silver-gilt, gold, and silver statues of St. John the Evangelist, the thirteenth Earl's especial patron-saint.¹⁹ While the de Vere Earls are conspicuous in these possessions, as in most other things, they are not relatively unique, in the acquisition and ownership of considerable religious hardware. Hugh Luttrell kept his two chapels sumptuously fitted, spending fifty-four pounds on silver plate in 1416.²⁰ Almost all the private chapels owned by our five families can conclusively be shown to possess a full set of vestments and enough plate for at least two priests to con-celebrate.

As well as the physical means, the household also had the animate means for such con-celebration. One would be hard-pressed to find a household document which does not mention at least one resident chaplain. He might have other priests and clerics to assist him; at least one sacristan, certainly, to look after the upkeep of the chapel and its accoutrements; and, in the largest households, a singing-school, comprised of both boys and men. Unfortunately, it is difficult to say a great deal about the household's clerical element, as was pointed out in chapter IV and V. The incompleteness of episcopal registers (in themselves and as sets), the commonness of many names (such as Robert Kent, chaplain to the Luttrells in the 1430's — five of this name are listed in the Exeter registers), a lack of sureness as to where such

clerics might have been ordained, and the generally-low social origins of many religious, means that biographies can be compiled only for a very few. John Bacwell, a Luttrell chaplain (1405-1423),²¹ was clearly a priest; his name is almost certainly a Somerset one and his services are concentrated in that area; but no Bacwell is listed in any surviving West Country register, nor can his family be traced. Thus one can seldom determine with any surety if those householders called clerici, in the service of the chapel or otherwise, are in any kind of holy orders; unless good internal evidence survives. However, one may remark that those men whom we know were laymen — such as Fitzlowes and Heton²² — occupying "clerical" (in the sense of accounting) positions did not call themselves clerici, while those like Bacwell and Draper,²³ whom we know were in orders, invariably did. One might suggest, tentatively, that in the noble household, clericus tended to retain its conservative meaning of one in holy orders, despite the fifteenth-century trend to apply the term to any accountant. We must not assume, however, that clerici were priests unless they are specifically designated as such (chaplains, of course, would have been priests, for instance); most of them were probably not even deacons.

Despite these reservations we often find households with more than one resident cleric who was capable of saying mass. In 1349 the Stonors had six chaplains;²⁴ in 1428 the Luttrells employed at least two priests;²⁵ the de Veres and Staffords usually had about three;²⁶ and in 1512 the fifth Earl of Northumberland employed as many as six chaplains, of whom one was designated the "Ladyemesse-priest", as he was employed solely in the saying of masses to the

Blessed Virgin.²⁷ These priests, whilst some were employed in accounting capacities, were in the main hired to function as chaplains. As such, their duties were comprised of saying daily mass and perhaps divine office; such requiems, twelve-month-minds, and penitential services as the lord required, and constructing and directing these services in the chapel.²⁸ More generally, they seem to have been charged with the moral and spiritual welfare of the household community, in especial that of other clerics in the household.

Household religious must have posed something of a problem to bishops. They frequently moved around the country with their masters, in and out of dioceses, and hence in and out of the authority of their spiritual overlords. Those paid by benefice in the Lord's granting must have required a perpetual leave of absence. Some evidence exists to show that, as far as the household was concerned, the senior chaplain had a special authority over other household clerics. The fifth Percy Earl's Dean of Chapel occupied such a position.²⁹ As well, in the Stafford chequerrolls for 1517 and 1519,³⁰ the servants are grouped in departments, within which they are ordered by rank; the clerics, of the chapel and of other parts of the household such as the kitchen, are all grouped together and are headed by the Dean of Chapel, who is placed in relation to them similarly to the way in which sub-heads of departments are placed in relation to their staffs (though the Dean's pay is much higher than that of such sub-heads). Thus it appears likely that the senior chaplain was recognized, within the household at least, as being in a special position of authority as far as other household religious were

concerned. The form this authority took is harder to determine, but practically, it probably involved much the same responsibilities attributed to the Dean of the Chapel Royal:³¹ such things as seeing clerics fulfilled their religious obligations, and that they did not lapsus in carnibus as the registers have it, or commit gross theological errors. The senior chaplain may also have drawn upon non-chapel clerics for liturgical ceremonies, such as mass attendances; chanting; reading the lesson; assisting in the offering of prayers; bearing the processional cross; handing out candles; and other such small but important jobs at high masses; and he may also have involved them in other chapel duties, such as the baking of hosts and the washing of purificators, which until 1962 had to be done by a person in holy orders. In the bigger households, of course, other clerics and priests on the chapel staff were employed for these sorts of duties.

The chapel staff proper, however, could also contain laymen. Most households employed at least one sacristan or verger, usually classified as a valet or groom, who was charged with the upkeep and guarding of the chapel and its valuable goods. The Earl of Northumberland also had two "yeoman pistelers" who were employed solely to read the first lesson from the New Testament Epistles at daily mass.³² In the greatest households, scholae cantorum in imitation of the King's chapel royal enriched the household's religious life. Such chapel choirs appeared in the royal household as early as 1135. By 1401 their number had stabilized to around thirty-two men, or "gentleman singers", and about twelve boys. Under Henry V and Henry VI the chapel royal flourished; in 1444 the position of choir-master was established as a fixed part of the

royal household train; under Henry VI the chapel royal was directed by numerous of the finest composers of English polyphony.³³

The first instance of a schola cantorum in a noble household, however, does not occur until 1360, when we find that Henry, Duke of Lancaster employed six adult singers in his chapel. Henry's son-in-law, John of Gaunt, also employed such a chorus, but with boys' voices as well. Perhaps it was from Gaunt that Henry IV inherited or learnt that love of sacred music which prompted him to increase and stabilize the position of the Chapel Royal; certainly his sons received it as well — not only Henry V, but John Duke of Bedford, whom we know had a choir for his household chapel in 1435, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester who left annuities in his will to his numerous schola members, boy and man. However, these scholae do not seem to be a general trend among the nobility in the early fifteenth century, but offshoots of the royal chapel choir.³⁴ We must wait for the first household scholae, employed by people who were not the sons and grandsons of Kings, until the 1480's. Edward IV on his accession gave considerable impetus to the "Royal Free Chapel", increasing the wages paid its members and fixing its administration, and "impressing" boys from the best Cathedral choirs. Henry VII continued this practice; and it is during his reign that the first "non-royal" chapel choirs were established. Margaret Beaufort, as much as the tradition of the chapel royal, may have encouraged Henry VII in his extensive patronage of polyphonic composers; she also had a schola cantorum in the late 1480's, and may have had one earlier.³⁵ Edward, Duke of Stafford, was almost certainly imitating Margaret Beaufort, his guardian and mentor, in his own schola as he had imitated her household administration in

other ways. Certainly no earlier Staffords had employed a choir. Both Edward Stafford's and Margaret Beaufort's choirs consisted of about 12 boys and around 4 gentleman-singers under the direction of a master of the children of chapel.³⁶ The low number of adult male voices is probably due to the greater expense of maintaining them and a greater scarcity of such professional singers. Boys were cheaper; and, as they received an education as well as a stipend, such positions were probably coveted.

But such choirs also were established by other nobles not intimately related to the Tudors. John, thirteenth Earl of Oxford, also employed a schola consisting of a master, about twelve boys and at least two adult male voices, in 1490.³⁷ By 1512, and probably earlier, the fifth Earl of Northumberland also patronized a large household choir.³⁸ Cardinal Wolsey and Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond also had private choirs in the early sixteenth century.³⁹ Such members of the chapel staff were obviously restricted to the greatest nobles, who alone had the wealth and prestige to properly support such schools of singing; but within that limited minority private choirs had become a ubiquitous part of household life.

The choir members came from all classes of society. Unfortunately, we have few names of the masters; but those whose identity is known seem to have been respectable musicians, even minor masters of the art of polyphony and the English melodic adaptation of plainsong. William Excestre, John of Gaunt's magister in 1393, became master of Henry IV's chapel royal, and probably wrote some or most of the pieces now known from the Old Hall manuscript;⁴⁰ Thomas Farthyng, Margaret Beaufort's choir-master, has left numerous compositions which exhibit his skill and illustrate his importance

to the development of English music.⁴¹ Men like Farthyng and Excestre are of obscure origins, and clerical background, which took them to the great Cathedral schools where they learned and perfected their singing skills. In the case of both these men, noble patronage proved a stepping-stone to royal favour: Farthyng, like Excestre, became master of the Chapel Royal under Henry VIII.⁴²

We know somewhat more about the singers than the masters. Those of relatively humble origins, such as the Duke of Buckingham's Roger Adamsey⁴³ and the 13th Earl of Oxford's James Hoggys and Richard Robkyn,⁴⁴ probably showed youthful promise at a Cathedral School or other educational establishment -- music-training being a requisite part of late-mediaeval learning -- and were commandeered by their noble patron. Other "children of the chapel", however, were actually henchmen; they came from well-established gentry families, often from those traditionally allied with the employing lord. Edward Stafford's schola included, in the years 1485 to 1521, several Brays, de la Mares, Pointzes, and other gentry family members from the Welsh Marches. Along with the other henchmen of the household these choirboys received a gentleman's education; some, like Edward Stafford's "littel Fraunceys", were sent to Oxford for clerical training at the Duke's expense.⁴⁵ As adults, these children often retained their connection with their foster-home. The Brays' and de la Mares' old ties with the house of Stafford continued throughout the career of the third Duke, and were probably strengthened by such fostering. For boys of lesser rank, their position in the schola often led to a lifetime profession. Some, like "littel Fraunceys", an otherwise unknown protege of the 3rd Duke of Buckingham, entered the church with their patron's assistance. Others, such as the

thirteenth de Vere Earl's choir boy, John Hewett, remained in the household on a gentleman's pay of 53s 4d per annum; some even formed the adult voice corps of the schola if their youthful promise persisted.⁴⁶ In 1512 the fifth Percy Earl's two "yeoman'pistelers" were ex-choir boys.⁴⁷

Some singers, however, entered the household choir as adults. Like their young colleagues they covered a wide social stratum, from the younger sons of gentry families to gifted commoners, who could have received their musical training in a Cathedral School or grammar school. Like the choir masters, we sometimes find that such singers moved on to the Chapel Royal. After 1550 such moves are much easier to discover, as we have a more complete picture of the Chapel Royal and fuller data on noble households; but it seems likely, from the few references to such moves which we can discern, that this was as likely to happen before 1550 as after.⁴⁸

Our knowledge of what these noble scholae sang is very sparse indeed. From the presence of such luminaries as Excestre and Farthyng, however, we can be sure that they were influenced by recent French and Italian styles and innovations, and that both polyphonic and melodic music, as well as plainchant, was sung. The fifth Earl of Northumberland's chapel choir were accustomed to antiphonal plainchant, as we see in the Northumberland Household Book, but they also had access to five-part polyphonic music, both English and Continental.⁴⁹

Obviously, nearly every aristocratic household, large or small, had the means for creating a religious community. However, our picture of "the court" and "courtly life", both royal and noble, is one of considerable worldliness, pomp, show, splendour. We may

easily picture those Puritan households of such as Oliver Cromwell,⁵⁰ with their solemn dress and solemn faces, living a strict life of common prayerfulness; we have a harder time imagining that sort of religious community which might exist at Castle Hedingham, or Thornbury, or Tattershall in the midst of the green and maple and red and white liveries, the peacocks and herons on the table, the trumpets sounding in the hall. We need to look at the motivation present in such a household, which might, through the regular pattern of worship shared by the community, encourage the formation of religious zeal in individuals, and in the group as a whole; for the Lord, and for his householders.⁵¹ A great deal depended on an individual Lord's or Lady's own sense of piety. Acts of charity were almost a social duty of the aristocracy, as were mass-attendance and the initiation of other religious services. Certainly chroniclers cite such pietistic practices as synonyms of good lordship; and we would be hard-pressed to discover a noble who never gave alms or endowed a chantry. But such activities could of course be turned largely outward; or they could be expressed not only through but in the household. We find that, as in most other spheres of consideration, religious activity tended to vary considerably from household to household. But perhaps, in the majority of noble establishments, numerous factors stimulated a particular kind of piety, which worked to bond the household into a spiritual unit.

We have already mentioned the intensely personal aspect of religious feeling in the later middle ages: a kind of mystical yearning for closeness to God which ran as an undercurrent through much of fifteenth-century theology. The Cloud of Unknowing, Handlinge Synne, popular accounts of such as St. Vincent Ferrer and St. Colette,

and Alain de la Roche's writings, are full of the intense desire to experience the humanity of Christ and to identify his sufferings with their own. The flagellant movement and other extreme religious groups like the followers of Hus are similarly motivated.⁵² Few people, of course, had the spiritual concentration of St. Vincent Ferrer, or the emotional violence of Hus. Ordinary folk needed to personalize their religion; to make of it something almost concrete,⁵³ close to their own gut emotions, which they could both control and become lost in. For nobles, in particular, this personalization helped to ameliorate the conflict between Christian humility and poverty and worldly display by identifying Christ in themselves and their possessions. Books of Hours are one manifestation of this trend. These prayer-guides provided a formula for religious experience. Furthermore, they could be handled and touched; the sacred word was further familiarized by the drawings of arms and donor's portraits, the inclusion of family trees, and of patron-saints' pictures and prayers, into these books. No two books of Hours were ever alike. The personalization of the sacred naturally encouraged the practise of piety within the household. To have one's own services, one's own priest, one's private liturgical adaptations and celebrations, was a way of controlling and coming closer to a distant Godhead. One could in a sense bring Christ into the living-quarters, within the very heart of one's life, by the creation of a private chapel. Unlike a parish church, even in the smallest village, private chapels were intended for the service of a very small group of specific people, in a concrete way our society can hardly appreciate.

This craving for personalization was not peculiar to the aristocracy. The nobility and the gentry could of course afford the

more ostentatious expressions of personal piety: books of hours, chapels, precious statues. But it may be posited that the sale of indulgences was the churches' response to a genuine need in western Europe; that indulgences, "relics", rosaries, etc., which were available to the common people, were a way of "crystallizing the image"⁵⁴ of God, of controlling and becoming one with him. Householders, as well as their well-born masters, were susceptible to this religious trend. The chapel, the priest, the ornaments, the liturgy intended especially for these small groups of people (one hundred and fifty at most), was spiritually reassuring and satisfying to everyone involved.

The importance of strongly personal religious feeling, then, could motivate closely-knit groups such as noble households to be drawn into their own pattern of piety, to which the individual could relate as part of a community; though the extent to which such feeling was present or recognized in fifteenth century England is difficult to gauge. More practical motives, however, also encouraged the practise of religion in the household. We have mentioned the status-value of a new chapel; and certainly such magnificent buildings and their accoutrements were one way of advertising one's splendour. What better way for the noble to further exhibit his strength and munificence than by utilizing religious festivals and processions to display his personal following? Such a display was thereby given an acceptable excuse, rendering it less likely to be inflammatory; politics was hidden by piety. This was a ploy which Italian princes in particular were also heavily exploiting in the fifteenth century, using the liturgical calendar to create a pattern of festivals for the celebration of the Medici, the Uffizi,

the Visconti.⁵⁵ In fact, it was used by all princes, though perhaps less unambiguously; English nobles can hardly have been immune to its value. Certainly the third Duke of Buckingham's household expedition to the burial-place of Prince Edward, son of Henry VI, in April 1508 was a but-thinly disguised advertisement of his sympathies,⁵⁶ meant to remind Henry VII of his family's attachment to the Lancastrian Cause.

Finally, the creation of the Household as a religious community was of benefit to the Household as an organization. Lords had long recognized, as we noted earlier, the value of group worship: Edward Stafford, George Duke of Clarence, and Henry Percy, in particular, all have left specific notices urging enforced mass-attendance.⁵⁷ As Paul V.B. Jones posits, "Not a noble master, but felt that his control over the servants was fortified, and a difficult management made smooth, through the attendance of the entire house, compulsory if necessary, at religious services ..."⁵⁸ For the sake of morale and what we would today call the encouragement of "teamwork", group worship must have been an ideal way of uniting the household in Christ, and incorporating it into the hierarchial structure of society encouraged by mediaeval Christianity. Shared worship, shared belief -- especially for a society whose people were caught up in the personalization of piety -- was (and for that matter still is) a very useful way to create a loyal, closely-knit community. The practical unification of the household was not just in the Lord's interest, however. Group worship was as much an expression of, as a causal factor in, household "teamwork". Any community of individuals wishes to express and confirm its unity through some kind of ritual; whether this be the crowning of a monarch, the yearly celebration of

Mother's Day or a community street-party. In an age of faith, daily worship was the best and most obvious way to do so. Individual householders were probably motivated to attend the household mass provided for them, because it re-affirmed each day their place in the community around which most of their lives centred.

Considerable motivation existed, therefore, for the creation of the household around its Lord as a religious community. In each household, however, worship varied enormously in terms of what was actually done, and how, depending on size, means and individual interests. In general, however, the mediaeval English nobility, like most elite groups, tended to be fairly conservative in their attitudes and deeds, remaining close to traditional patterns of thought and action. Nobles did not convert their households into monasteries, nor did they approach the extremes of such radical sectarians as Hus in their search for an intimate and secure relationship with God; nobles and gentry largely confined themselves to the exercise of traditional forms of pious practice open to the layman, adapting these to suit the requirements of what Joel Rosenthal calls "an individualized form of institutionalized religion".⁵⁹ We can conveniently divide noble, household religious activity into four categories: daily worship patterns; observance of the liturgical year; generational ceremony; and general charity. In these four spheres the lord acted through his household, which organized these events, and also in most cases participated in them.

While it seems likely that daily mass was common in households, we cannot really be perfectly sure that it was in actuality celebrated daily, or whether, if so, individuals actually attended. We must remember that weekly mass, even, was beyond the religious exertions

of most people, and that the church only required attendance at mass twice yearly. Once again, much depended on the Lord's intensity of religious devotion. The general impression is that the aristocracy were fairly fastidious about their religious observances, either out of piety or duty. We can probably assume that the Lord and his family, at least, felt an obligation to hear mass frequently. One feels that Thomas Stonor I would hardly have paid for a licence to say mass before daybreak -- presumably for when he would be journeying and wished to set out early -- if he did not wish to avail himself of it.⁶⁰ Moreover, some useful economic evidence exists for supposing that daily mass was celebrated. Wardrobe costs in the Stafford, Luttrell and De Vere households⁶¹ break down to reveal that nearly a third of the candles, torches, etc. used in the household were expended in the chapel. Since candles are an essential part of the mass it seems reasonable to draw the conclusion that fairly regular services were held in these chapels. In the Luttrell household and in that of Henry Lord Stafford and Margaret Beaufort, this candle consumption continues even in the absence of the master.⁶² (Indeed the "Ordinances of Eltham" and the "Northumberland Household Book" make provision for the keeping of community meals and daily mass in the absence of the Lord⁶³). Therefore, one can probably assume that a daily mass was said in most household chapels; and that the motivations previously described, and in strictly-run households the insistence of the master, ensured some sort of congregation. In the larger households especially, the music, fabulous ornamentation and release from duties must have made even a low mass an attractive diversion, at the least.

Several ordinances also specify other daily services: in

particular the divine office and masses for the dead. Henry Percy, and the governors of little Edward V when he was still a prince, made provision for the chapel staff, including the schola, to say the office in part — probably Lauds, Terce and Vespers — each day.⁶⁴ Edward V and his young henchmen were supposed to attend the office, but naturally the rest of the household was not expected to do so. They were, of course, too busy with their primary duties. The same is true of the requiem masses. In effect some lords endowed chantries in their private chapels, usually for the souls of their parents. In the fifth Earl of Northumberland's household chapel a Lady mass was said daily, for the good of souls, and in the chapel of George, Duke of Clarence;⁶⁵ but these were not intended as congregational masses, nor was the household community expected to attend.

Religiously-inspired abstinences and bounty were also regular observances that coloured the life of the household. In nearly every household account we find a scrupulous observance of the Friday abstinence from meat; in others, such as the Stafford accounts from the Dowager Anne's time onwards, and the household represented in the Cockermouth Roll also,⁶⁶ abstinence on Wednesday and Saturday — recommended but not required by the church — was observed. In the third Stafford Earl's household, one day a week — usually Friday, but occasionally Wednesday — a full fast may have been instituted; the accounts show that on one day a week only about eight people on average (the old, the young and the sick would have been exempted) took meals.⁶⁷

The purveyance-patterns of most households show that these penitential days were countered by a day of joy — Sunday. In the

Luttrell, Cromwell and Stonor families, spending and consumption was particularly large on this day, increasing the total expenditure over a normal meat-day such as Monday or Thursday by as much as fifty percent.⁶⁸ Unusual or exotic foods also occur frequently on Sundays — herons in Ralph Cromwell's house, and wine, even for the lower servants;⁶⁹ boars for the Radcliffes;⁷⁰ and a high percentage of wild-fowl for the Luttrells.⁷¹ This Sunday-pattern does not appear in either the de Vere or Stafford accounts; but this may be due to the size of these great establishments, which depended heavily on the stock-piling of food, so that buying was generally continuous from day-to-day, showing no pattern of consumption of any kind.⁷² It is perhaps worthy of note that the fifth Percy Earl, who also depended on stock-piling and whose household was of a dimension comparable with those of the de Veres and Staffords, specified that a High Mass was to be said each Sunday;⁷³ so that for his household as well this memorial of Easter was retained.

As well as these regular observances, the annual cycle of the church calendar probably exercised a strong influence over the life of the household. Of course, it can be argued that the liturgical year impressed itself on any mediaeval mind; but in the noble household, as in the monastery, or convent, the church calendar could be much more intensely experienced than it was, for instance, by a small village. Despite the closeness of this latter community and the importance to it of the local priest, the farmer's year was much more likely to be influenced by the seasons and their vagaries than by the cycle of the church. This is not to suggest that the two were incompatible, or mutually exclusive. It is certainly true that the liturgical year played a part in a farmer's life; for

instance, Good Friday was used as the sowing deadline. But this is due more to the link between Good Friday and the vernal equinox than to the symbolic tie between sowing and the Crucifixion, though this was the interpretation of the theologian. Moreover, let us compare the impact of the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin (March 25) on a yeoman farmer and on a householder. On 25 March a farmer, unless it was a Sunday, would probably be busy ploughing. He was not required to attend mass. He would probably eat no better that day than any other, nor would he be likely to have any more leisure or entertainment.⁷⁴

Compare this with the experience of a householder at Thornbury in 1519.⁷⁵ A Vigil was kept on 24 March; on the feast itself a solemn high mass and two banquets occurred. The chapel was in the same building inhabited by the householder, near the hall where he ate his meals. If not himself, at least some of his fellows would have been involved in the preparations. He could hardly miss the excitement of preparation for high mass, the scent of incense and beeswax, the sound of the schola practising. Even if he avoided the Vigil, it is unlikely that in the third Duke's household he could have escaped the high mass. A special preacher had been got in — Dr. Mandeville, Prior of Blackfriars at Bristol⁷⁶ — who no doubt gave a long and impressive sermon. There was apparently a banquet at both the noon and evening meals, in whose preparation most householders would have been involved, and in which they all partook. At the evening's banquet a troop of "Egyptians" (Romanys) and a "young maid tumbler" entertained.

The differences between these two modes of celebrating the Annunciation give us some idea of the religious atmosphere pressing

on the householder. He would have had to actively avoid the celebration of this feast. Whatever the householder's religious convictions, he could hardly help taking part in, and being moved or excited by, the ceremonies and festivities; they were a quite unavoidable part of his life. Much more than other laymen, noble household communities were likely to be affected by the liturgical calendar, if their Lords' devotions or political interests prompted him to order its keeping. In most cases, he was so inclined. A look at the account books of most households show that the major feasts of the year, what are now called Solemnities, Feasts and Holy Days of Obligation, were almost without exception celebrated as feasts. The Annunciation is one of these, often occurring as a (probably welcome) break in the austerity of Lent. Accounts show conclusively that during Lent complete meat-abstinence was strongly enforced, though not extending to such items as eggs; a complete fast was observed on Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday and Good Friday.

Easter Vigil and Easter Sunday were solemnly celebrated at all the five households on which we are concentrating, with high mass and a banquet. Hugh and John Luttrell distributed largesse in honour of the day;⁷⁷ in the Stafford household under Edward the third Duke, wherein a preacher was invited to give a homily each Sunday in Lent, Dr. Mandeville was again imported from Bristol to preach on Good Friday, Easter Vigil and Easter.⁷⁸ During Eastertide, Ascension day, Whitsunday or Pentecost, Trinity Sunday and Corpus Christi were solemnly celebrated by all. the Birthday of St. John the Baptist, which coincided with Midsummer, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (29 June and 15 August, respectively) were the only

common summer feasts. St. Michael the Archangel's feast (Michael-mass) was not only of fiscal importance, but was generally celebrated as a religious holiday, on 29 September. All Saints' and All Souls' (1 and 2 November) were kept with numerous Requiem Masses and the saying of the office for the dead.

Then, as now, Christmas -- the whole season as well as the day -- was probably the most important holiday of the year; not only religious, but as "secularized" and "commercial" as a modern Christmas. Buying for it began in October and November -- special torches and candles, fowl and stock cattle for fattening, and supplies of such dainties as figs, dates, and sugar are entered as Christmas empciones as early as October 15 in the Luttrell, de Vere and Stafford accounts.⁷⁹ Christmastide officially began at the first Sunday of Advent, but in fact the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin on 8 December marked the heightening of household preparations for Christmas, as yet more supplies were purchased and guests poured in for the holiday. Guests were an important feature of the Christmas season, especially close relatives -- Edward Stafford invited close on one-hundred in 1507.⁸⁰ It was also celebrated with entertainments: waits, companies of players, "clerks of St. Nicholas", musicians, gymnasts and fools; even the smallest households managed to import a peripatetic lutor.⁸¹ Nevertheless it was not, certainly, devoid of religious sentiment: daily high mass, with sermons at Edward Stafford's Thornbury, as well as daily banquets, were celebrated. The Christmas holidays followed the traditional pattern of twelve nights in most households, the chief high-points being Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, St. Stephen's Day (26 December), the feast of the Holy Innocents (28 December), twelfth-night, and Epiphany or twelfth-day (6 January). A general exodus of guests on

the Monday morning following Epiphany marked the end of the festivities.

All these religious festivals were organized in and through the household; but also for and with householders. The best illustration of this can be found on the celebration of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple and the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February), on which feast, in both the Stonor and Stafford establishments, candles were issued to every member of the household so that they could participate in the ceremonies.⁸²

Each household, besides those main feasts, also had its own particular set of feast-days which filled their liturgical calendar. Patron-Saints' days, dedication memorials, and other obscure solemnities with special meaning for the family were celebrated with solemn high mass and a fulsome meal. The variety of these feasts are endless, and no real pattern emerges; it is perhaps best to recount, in turn, the particular liturgical feasts of each of our five families, in order to give some impression of the richness of their religious calendars. Our knowledge of these yearly cycles varies, of course, from family to family, depending on the number of daily accounts surviving. These, by recording in detail expenditure, number of guests, etc. tell us a good deal more about holidays than the yearly summaries. Letters, such as those of the Stonors, also provide useful insights. From the earliest to the latest letters, we find a particular devotion to the Holy Trinity among the Stonors. "May the Trinity keep you" closes nearly every Stonor letter over one-hundred years of correspondence. Their magnificent chapel was of course dedicated to the Holy Trinity, though whether this is the cause or effect, of Stonor devotion is uncertain. Solemn celebrations were also held on the feasts of St. Anne (26 July) and St.

Katherine of Alexandria, (25 November) and also probably St. George, (23 April) to whom chapels in the house, and the church in the town of Henley, were dedicated. The anniversary of the dedication of Holy Trinity chapel (somewhere between 22 October and 8 November) was also a cause for feasting and for high mass in the Stonor household.⁸³ Most of the Staffords' religious zeal was concentrated around Lent and Easter, which they celebrated with greater solemnity than most; but few other general church holidays were specially observed. Rather we find that the third Duke celebrated family events with religious rites, as it were: his father's death on the third of November was the culmination of a highly-celebrated All Saints and Souls festival of numerous requiem masses; his own birthday on 7 September was accompanied by mass and feasting; and the 29th of January, the dedication day of the Duke's foundation, Thornbury College, was solemnly celebrated.⁸⁴

As the Staffords concentrated on Easter, so the Luttrells on Christmas; the four Advent Sundays were kept with full ritual and ceremony, as was St. Nicholas' day (6 December). The family also seems to have had a devotion to St. Lawrence, to whom the bailey chapel was dedicated. The sole survival of a single day-account, however, limits our knowledge of the Luttrell's liturgical calendar.⁸⁵ The same difficulty arises for the Cromwells. One of Ralph Lord Cromwell's accounts⁸⁶ indicates that in his absence his servants kept the feast of St. Winefride the Virgin (8 November), and also that of St. Nicholas (6 December) and St. Thomas the Apostle (21 December); but this skeleton staff did not include a priest, so that if they kept these as religious as well as gastronomic feasts they would have had to attend the parish church, or the collegiate church

at Tattershall. The Radcliffe's surviving day-account for 1475⁸⁷ is singularly unrevealing in the matter of such holidays, though this may be due to coincidence with the gaps in the account — the days around Christmas, most of Lent and Easter, are not entered in the Tattershall book, presumably due to the removal of the household elsewhere. One must also remember that both Ralph Cromwell and his nieces had a collegiate church within the castle precincts, through which the household may have expressed its piety. The candles and other liturgical paraphernalia which in year-accounts tell us, in their purchase, of the household's religious services, may have been bought through the College.

Though we have only two day-accounts of the 13th Earl of Oxford, we can nevertheless, because of his will and the fortuitous fullness of his year-accounts, reconstruct his household's liturgical calendar more fully than that of the Cromwells. John de Vere was particularly devoted to the Blessed Virgin and to his patron-saint, John the Evangelist. As well as all the major Marian holidays, the thirteenth Earl's household kept the Feast of the Visitation (31 May); the feast of St. Joachim and St. Anne, Her parents (26 July); the birthday of the Blessed Virgin (8 September); and the Presentation (21 November).⁸⁸ The first bequest in the Earl's will is of an immense sum of money, plate and jewels for the statue and shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham. The same will lists at least twenty-three statues of St. John;⁸⁹ and his feast, 27 December, was kept both in 1490 and 1507. In addition to these principal devotions, the household celebrated the feasts of St. James (25 July), St. Simon and St. Jude (28 October) and St. Katherine of Alexandria (25 November).⁹⁰ These, rather tedious, listings of holidays peculiar to specific households give some

conception of the variety and richness of household religious life. One might note the persistence of days of patronage — chapel dedications, the Stonors' Holy Trinity, the de Veres' St. John the Evangelist, the Luttrells' St. Lawrence. One wonders if these celebrations, which honoured the noble family involved, as much as the saint specified, had the same sort of meaning for the household as a whole. We cannot know, but the theory is a tempting one. In a household which functioned as a lay-religious community, such patronage feasts could have easily been used to express, through religious ritual, the unity of the household.

Constant exposure to the pattern of the liturgical day and year, as organizers and participators, and the fact that this calendar was celebrated outside of the normal parish system by an organization with its own liturgical traditions, clergy and chapel or chapels, must have strongly reinforced the sense of religious community within the household, especially on the celebration of patronage feasts. As well as these regular, cyclical patterns however, generational events marking the passage of a linear time, and involving church ritual, were often organized by and participated in by the household: in especial Baptisms, Marriages and Funerals. These rites of passage were, for that matter are, highly significant occasions, as anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists all assure us: ritual allows one to control, understand, and maintain continuity through unsettling changes in status.⁹¹ This is as true of Christian, as it is of primitive or pagan, ritual. We find continually that Lords and servants participated in each others' generational rituals.

A Stonor paper of 1482 includes a list of directions for a Christening, probably for the Baptism of William Stonor's son John. This was organized through the household and took place in the

Chapel of the Holy Trinity at Stonor. Of the twelve priests involved, several were household chaplains; and a number of other household servants, alongside relatives and influential local gentry, were involved in the ceremony — Christopher Holland, then household steward, held the basin and salt.⁹² In the middle ages, Godparents and other sponsors were chosen carefully; they were meant to take their position seriously, and indeed were often the child's first patrons and aids.⁹³ Thomas Chaucer, godfather to Thomas Stonor I, became his guardian and his first mentor; Chaucer's daughter Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, filled the same roll for Thomas Stonor II.⁹⁴ The inclusion of householders in the Christening train is therefore, perhaps, significant; perhaps it symbolically pledged them to serve the heir of their master, William Stonor, as well as William himself, providing a rationale for continuity between the generations. Certainly it worked in the opposite direction. Lords frequently stood as Godparents to their servants' children, later acting as their patrons; the Dowager Countess of Oxford, second wife of the thirteenth Earl, for instance, was Godmother to Elizabeth Ryder, daughter of Margaret and Nicholas Ryder, who had served her husband and herself for numerous years; the Dowager left the girl a substantial dowry.⁹⁵ Both Humphrey and Edward Stafford stood Godfather to poor children and their servants' progeny, as did the thirteenth Earl of Oxford; these godchildren often appear later in service to their patrons, such as Edward Stafford's "litel Fraunceys", sent to Oxford by the third Duke and intended for household service.⁹⁶

Marriage must have affected household life and practices more immediately and distinctively than any other major shift in status; and we know, from the Stonor and Hoby letters, that it could create

tensions in the household. Thus it is unfortunate that no accounts, for the years of the marriages of the head of household in any of our five families survive. We do have some information about the marriages of daughters. These often took place in the chapel of the bride's father, as in the double-marriage in the Stonor chapel in 1331,⁹⁷ the marriage of Hugh Luttrell's daughter Elizabeth at Dunster in 1406,⁹⁸ and the rather later but particularly fully-documented marriage of the daughter of Sir William More of Loseley, Surrey, in 1567.⁹⁹ These were organized through the household, which handled the catering, entertainment and decoration; and John Bacwell, the household steward, was involved in the negotiations over the marriage of Elizabeth Luttrell to William Harleston.¹⁰⁰ On the households' part in the actual ritual of marriage, however, we are sadly lacking in information. On the marriages of servants, however, we find that Lords often attended the service, providing a substantial marriage-gift and often a dowry for the bride. The thirteenth Earl of Oxford in 1490 extended his patronage to the marriage of John Watson, one of his valets;¹⁰¹ the Earl's dowager left dowries in her will to several of her maids.¹⁰²

But it is in death that the household particularly involved itself in the rite of passage. For the servants, especially, natural sorrow was accompanied by great insecurity as the household changed hands, even though many Lords stipulated in their wills that their servants were to be kept on for at least six months after the funeral. Householders organized and participated in their masters' funerals, arranging for the procession, burial, and largesse, and also for the wake afterwards, usually following the instructions of the will. Servants normally took part in the procession, following

after the chief mourners and in some cases carrying or leading the body. Their numbers were not restricted; all householders were issued livery and expected to join the procession.¹⁰³ Through the funeral ritual servants were able to express their grief, perform a last act of service for their dead lord, and perhaps by their privileged position in the ceremony identify themselves with the chief mourners -- usually the lord's heirs. The almost orgiastic wakes common to some cultures, for example in Ireland and among American Negroes, are explained by anthropologists as an effort to affirm life in the face of death.¹⁰⁴ After the solemn funeral such wakes seem to have been common in mediaeval England; Ralph Stonor's lasted over a week.¹⁰⁵ That of Thomas Stonor II, in 1474, cost 74 li 2s 5d ob, about two-thirds of which was expended in food, including such delicacies as venison, brawn and "surloyne".¹⁰⁶ The anniversary of the death was celebrated in the twelve-month mind, which involved both a religious service and a feast. Households organized and participated in those, not only for a dead master or one of his relatives, but occasionally for servants. Elizabeth (Ryche) Stonor's chamberer, Richard, for example, was remembered in this way.¹⁰⁷

Our information on generational rituals is perhaps rather slender, but suggestive. Householders not only organized such rituals for their Lord, but participated in them, with their master, and he participated in theirs; intimating the importance of the household institution as a crucial framework governing the lives of master and servant.

Apart from liturgical ceremonies, Lords chiefly fulfilled their Christian duties by dispensing alms, and founding and supporting

religious houses. As Joel Rosenthal has pointed out, it is not necessary to distinguish alms and charity to laymen from gifts to religious and to monasteries, because the mediaeval nobility saw no such distinction. Their scheme of charity was essentially an exchange rather than unreciprocated givings: money or goods or lands, for prayers.¹⁰⁸ This is as true of the leper passed on the road, as of the ancestral monastic foundation. When discussing the role of the household in charity, however, one may distinguish between the great, planned, charitable action and casual almsgiving. The former was largely organized through the lord's will, or, if he wished to make a grant during his lifetime, through his receiver-general, or by an alienation in mortmain for land. Thus, of Ralph Cromwell's magnificent foundation of Tattershall, the de Veres' patronage of the College of Pleshey (Essex) and Colne Priory, or the Luttrells' charitable relationship with the Benedictine Abbey at Dunster, we find little or nothing in the records of the household. What we discover of them usually reflects on the consequences of that patronage, such as the Luttrell clerk Robert Draper's admittance to Shaftesbury,¹⁰⁹ the Abbot of Keynsham's place on Edward Stafford's council,¹¹⁰ or the hospitality of such foundations to their patron's travelling servants.¹¹¹ We know considerably more about casual almsgiving and largesse.

As well as major, expensive charitable schemes, the aristocracy was also generally expected by others and themselves to exhibit their munificence by the frequent distribution of largesse. Though this was, at some religious feasts, a set custom -- the Staffords always donated a fixed amount to be distributed by the almoner, at Easter and at Christmas,¹¹² and Joan (Belknap) Stonor (d. 1425) was extremely

explicit, in her will, about the alms to be distributed in twelve parishes after her funeral¹¹³ -- in essence such almsgiving was casual and spontaneous. Beggars on the road or at the door, clerical guests and poor students were seldom turned away empty-handed. Most lords had certain biases in their almsgiving. Despite the claim that the mendicant orders had fallen into disrepute in the fifteenth century, the most frequent recipients of alms from our secular noble households were friars of one sort or another. Hugh Luttrell and Humphrey Stafford were particularly fond of Franciscans; the latter's great-grandson had close ties with several Dominican houses, to whose members he often gave hospitality.¹¹⁴ William Stonor gave much largesse to Oxford students;¹¹⁵ as did Edward Stafford. The third Duke of Buckingham was also particularly charitable to lepers.¹¹⁶ Despite these preferences, all accounts mention numerous "powre men" met on the road, to whom indiscriminate alms -- and a request to pray for the donor -- were distributed. Such alms were financed by the household. Hospitality was paid for by the steward or almoner; simple alms were usually dispensed via chamber servants who accompanied the Lord, but any nearby servant could be told to open his purse. The accounts of Elizabeth of York, Henry VII's Queen, show her gentlewomen being re-imbursed for providing her impulsive gifts, per mandatum dominae.¹¹⁷ Many similar entries occur in the third Stafford Duke's private accounts.¹¹⁸

One occasionally finds, however, a dispensation of alms not given per mandatum domine, but pro, or in nomine, hospicii, such as that dispensed to lepers for the household of Edward Stafford in 1520,¹¹⁹ or that given to poor men of Minehead by the Luttrell household for the Christmas of 1405.¹²⁰ Moreover, the private accounts of the Stonor

servants, and for Reginald Seynesbury, Hugh Luttrell's purveyor, enter in their discharges the casual dispensation of alms to beggars met in the course of their travels.¹²¹ The evidence, slender but unambiguous, seems to suggest that householders, as a group and as individuals, had the right and the duty to dispense charity. As Christian individuals and as a religious community, almsgiving was an accepted function of householders and householding. Also, servants themselves could benefit from their master's charity through the household. Robert Draper, as a religious, performed as a chantry priest for his late master;¹²² Edward Stafford financed his cleric Brother Edmund's return to Oxford to finish his degree.¹²³ John Glade, another servant of the third Duke, became a hermit; in which pursuit he was supported by gifts and, on feast-days, hospitality.¹²⁴

While this sort of casual charity involved a minute percentage of household income — never more than two pounds per annum — it was in most households frequent: two to four times per week on average (in the Stafford households of the dowager Anne and her great-grandson, much more frequently, as much as two or three a day, six days a week).¹²⁵ Tuppence, the normal rate for a single gift, constituted a day's wage for an agricultural worker, and surpassed that of a household valet (40s per annum, about 1d ob qua a day).¹²⁶ While it does not reflect well, perhaps, on the charity of the aristocracy (though we should recall that household-based alms were only a very tiny percentage of their annual charitable expenditure), the frequent distribution of sums, equalling per donation about four pounds in modern purchasing power, and between five and twenty (for the Staffords, as much as sixty) pounds a week,

we can better gauge the character of mediaeval charity and its psychological effect upon the householder. He would have been aware that the establishment in which he lived, gave as much and sometimes more than most religious houses;¹²⁷ and some of this was distributed in the name of himself and his fellows, for whom it would reap a harvest of prayer.

Much of the available evidence on household piety is ambiguous and uncertain. We know, from ordinances and chequerrolls such as Edward Stafford and George, Duke of Clarence, that Lords wished to see their households operate as a religious community, daily worshipping in a body; but such sources reflect the ideal, rather than the real, household, and we must use them with circumspection. The means for the existence of such a community were present, but how, and how much, these means were utilized is less sure. Implicit and explicit motivation for the formation of such a community can be argued, but is more difficult to prove in entirety. Finally, the pious actions of households can in many cases be discerned; but the evidence of such action is sometimes ambiguous in nature, and its real significance — such as whether householders actually did attend the daily masses which were probably held in most households — is difficult, often impossible, to ascertain. In the end, we must rely on quantity as much as quality of evidence; on the steady accumulation of information, which, though each item by itself is perhaps insignificant, achieves in toto a kind of persuasiveness. Few mediaeval English households under the aristocracy could have reached the ideal aspired to by such nobles as George, Duke of Clarence, who ordained:

"... sith that alle wisdom, grace, and goodnesse,
 procedeth of veray love, drede, and feythfulle
 service of God, withoute whose helpe and socoure
 no good governaunce ne politique rule may be hadde;
 it is ordeyned therefore, ... one of the chapleyns
 shall be redy to saye matyns and masse to the
 householde, and also evensonge; and that every
 (one) ... be at the seid dyvine service... " 128

Nor could all servants have attained the spirit of religious
 zeal enjoined upon them in "The Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke",
 addressed to servants and youths:

"Aryse be tyme oute of thi bedde,
 And Blysse þi brest and thi forhede,
 Than wasche thi hondes and thi face,
 Keme þi hede, and Aske God grace
 The to helpe in All þi werkes;
 Thow schall spede better what so þou carpes.
 Than go to þe churche and here A messe,
 There aske mersy for þi trespasse ...
 Blysse þi mouthe or þou it ete,
 The better schalle be þi dyete ... " 129

Moreover, behind this idealistic front lurked the less exalted
 motives of order and control, and the manipulation of religious
 spectacle for political purposes. Nevertheless, accumulated
 evidence seems to indicate that the noble household of the
 later middle ages was united under its Lord as a religious
 community -- not as a monastery or as a city of the saved
a la Mount Tabor, but as a cohesive body which attempted regular
 daily worship and frequent charitable practices as a "familye
 (that) may live together in love and kindnese".¹³⁰

Chapter X

Conclusion

The general purpose and practice of this thesis has been that of throwing light upon the hitherto dark world of the secular noble household as it existed in England between 1350 and 1550, by examining and analysing its make-up, mechanisms and roles. However, this process necessarily has included more general consideration of the overall position of the household in mediaeval England, especially as it relates to other powers and structures more generally treated by the historian. One is often tempted to write about these affairs and actions without examining the forms which made them possible; but we better understand the former if we comprehend the latter. Our study of the household has allowed us to reach a number of conclusions highly relevant to our understanding of such concerns as the English aristocracy, the exercise of authority on a local level, the internal organization of certain economic systems, and the various functions of religious activity in the life of a community. To arrive at this point, we have had to dismantle the household as if it were a watch long unwound, examining each wheel and cog in turn. We began with the internal make-up of the household, studying the Lord and his family, and the servants working within or with the household: their status, social background, geographical origins, training and patterns of activity. The mechanisms by which these individuals were coordinated -- the accounting systems, hierarchies, and organizational schemes which contained household members within specific forms and overall patterns -- were examined. But, having analysed the proponent parts of such a watch, and discovering how these worked together, one must

study what actions and reactions this structure produced. In the latter four chapters of this thesis, we discussed the role of the secular noble household as an important part of economic systems, in particular within localized trade, both as a consumer and producer; as an organization through which lords exercised their authority, on a national as well as a local level; and as a group within which social and religious activities worked to cement household members into a community. Now our watch must be fitted into its case and wound: that is, we must reassemble the aspects of the mediaeval household which we have been studying separately, in order to understand its full significance. Some general conclusions about the secular noble household itself must be discussed, and an analysis of how the mediaeval household fits into general contexts, contemporary and historical, should be attempted.

In the course of this thesis' chapters discussed above, various important conclusions about the secular noble household in mediaeval England have been reached. In establishing the historical and familial backgrounds of our subject, it was noted that noble households were not simply imitations or royal establishments (though some nobles did imitate the King's domestic arrangements in some respects), but were generated by, and changed and developed according to, the special needs of nobles in general and each master in particular. These requirements affected the structure of the household, and an analysis of several establishments has indicated that needs common to most nobles and gentles tended to create, in each household, common structures such as the presence of varying social ranks of household servant, including generosi, valetti, and garciones, to answer varying degrees of responsibility; the hiring of at least one chief

officer to act as an executive; and the presence of certain specialized officers such as cooks, chaplains, laundresses and stable-hands. However, the greatly-varied circumstances of individual nobles and gentles -- their different political positions, incomes, interests, etc. -- also created vast variations concomitant with basic similarities. The many sizes of household, from twenty five to three hundred members; the widely-varying degrees of their departmentalization and specialization; the range of individual servants' duties; and the different opportunities of each household's accountants to control cash, all illustrate how household organization responded to the master's needs.

The types of people within that organization, show somewhat more homogeneity. Though they came from all ranks of society, from peasants to gentlemen, the great majority of householders were local in some way to the area in which their household was centred, whether part of the social circle of families within which the master moved, or one of his tenantry. In addition, householders often were participants in a family tradition of service to a particular household. The householder's official status and security, as well as the chance of advancing the fortunes of one's family, meant that householders tended to make service a life-long career; records of twenty years or more under one master are not uncommon.

As well as the former of its organizational procedures, householders were controlled by a different kind of structure, made of paper rather than people but often just as influential and important in understanding the household. An analysis of the system of daily and yearly accounting procedures generally gives the lie to accounts of noble profligacy, and shows how households controlled and

balanced spending, especially during a time of low rents and high prices on luxury goods, when the household had to be efficient and relatively economical in its expenditure without compromising the appearance of opulence so important to the mediaeval nobility. As well, an understanding of the household's accounting system is crucial to the comprehension of the household's income and expenditure. A close analysis of accounts has shown that the household worked as part of the local, and to some extent the national, economic system, providing a major stimulant in the market economy. Households could not afford to exhaust their environment by over-consumption; they had to have a symbiotic rather than wholly parasitic relationship with the peasantry on whom their lives depended. In fact, the noble household seems to have acted as a stimulant to the economy, especially on a local level. By producing and selling items like hides and tallow in bulk at cheap prices, the household provided necessary goods to their local area; and by consistently depending on the surrounding countryside for such goods as grain, meat, and milk, households created demands which ambitious peasants hastened to fulfil. The production of cash crops and as a result the introduction of a partial cash economy among English peasants may be significantly concomitant with the beginnings of English nobility farming out large percentages of their demesnes.¹ One might perhaps note that, in Scotland, where peasants tended to be subsistence farmers well into the seventeenth century, the nobility and gentry retained the greater part of their demesne lands as a home farm which provided for the majority of their needs.² Obviously in later-mediaeval England the secular noble household operated as an important factor in the balance of local economy. To a certain extent households also

affected the national trade in luxury goods, of which they were major consumers.

Clearly the household was not just a domestic establishment; it performed roles in society at large in the name of its master. As well as affecting the economy, households had a major part to play in the political life of the nobility. In serving its lord, individual householders acted as messengers, diplomats, and even soldiers. The household as a whole advertised its master's wealth, generosity and potential strength through "conspicuous consumption", so important to mediaeval political manoeuvres; its organization provided one legal form of livery and maintenance, with all its attendant benefits for lord and client. The political connections of many household servants -- through their gentle families and other noble patrons, or simply through their position in and influence over local peasant society, could be and often were put in sympathy with those of the master of the household, expanding the authority of both parties. Perhaps most importantly, the household was an active and regular participant in the baronial council, which aided lords in the running of both their estates and their careers.

The ability of the household to turn outwards, participating as a body in economic and political life, was to some extent dependent upon its ability to create out of its varied membership a united body. The problem of social dynamics is a very difficult one to approach when considering mediaeval group structures, as the evidence upon which one can build an analysis is almost invariably slim. Nevertheless Lords, for their own comfort and convenience if nothing else, needed to rule over a household which was also in

some sense a community. One extremely important way in which such community life must have been established, according to the evidence available, is through the religious role of the household. Lords desired and may have commanded that servants attend mass daily; religious festivals were celebrated by feasting and entertainment as well as liturgy, both participated in by all householders. Household anniversaries such as birthdays, the anniversary of the chapel's foundation, etc., as well as the "rites of passage" (such as baptism, majority and marriage) both of masters and servants, were celebrated liturgically as well as secularly, once again by all householders. The household also gave alms and dispensed charity as a group. Just as Italian Princes used the religious calendar to advertise and promote their own house, so nobles in late mediaeval England employed the use of liturgy to give their households a group identity. In a sense, secular noble households functioned as religious communities.

Looked at altogether, these conclusions about the household's form and the roles it played lead to more general considerations about the function of the secular noble household in mediaeval English Society.

If the household is to be classified as a historical subject, in conjunction with other forms and structures prevalent in mediaeval England, it can best be described as an institution. "Institution", much used in course descriptions, book titles and lectures, is a much-abused term, with modern connotations, such as fixedness of purpose and form, that sometimes colour our perceptions;³ but when used carefully it is a valid way of describing some aspects of mediaeval society. If the mediaeval institution is conceived as

a framework through which individuals and groups organize and control their lives, the secular noble household, as well as land-holding systems, livery and maintenance, the church, and other such structures, can be treated as an institution. Certainly households worked in this way, acting as a system through which nobles, their servants, local tenants, farmers and gentry could initiate and control a local economic balance, exert or seek escape from authority, or filter community experiences. The household cannot be dismissed as mere domestic organization, nor yet as a branch of the wider affinity of the noble classes. It functioned as an important structure in helping fifteenth-century men and women to conceive, comprehend and carry out their existence.

K.B. McFarlane posits that "Institutions sometimes seem to have a life of their own, ..." ⁴ and certainly the secular noble household often has this appearance, owing primarily to two factors. Households survived as institutions as living beings survive: by being self-supporting and self-perpetuating. We noted in chapter VII, on consumption, that the household sometimes seemed to exist solely for the purpose of supporting and administering to itself; ⁵ while its chief function, certainly, was that of serving the lord as he desired, indubitably householders spent much time and energy in keeping the household staff and appurtenances in some kind of order. The greatest percentage of household expenditure went towards servants' wages, clothes and food, and the upkeep of utensils, furniture and buildings. Though numerous servants and well-appointed rooms were of course meant to serve the master, nevertheless only about ten percent of household income was spent directly on the lord and his family. ⁶ Like a living organism, the household devoted

considerable effort to self-preservation. A crucial part of such survival techniques, however, as much for households as living beings, is the adaptability to fit into an ecological niche. While the household could be called parasitic, in that it lived off the rents and fines of those who worked the land, it took care not to strangle its host. Household consumption put money into circulation and created demands that stimulated local production; noble establishments provided wage-labour, permanent, seasonal or piece-work, for some of those who required it; and in most cases households also produced goods useful to the local community in greater quantities and at cheaper prices than were available at markets. This almost-organic relationship of the household to its environment was a crucial factor in its ability to support itself on the yearly income with which it was provided, and also helps to explain why the household operated as such an important institution for such a wide variety of people.

As well as being self-supporting in time, the noble establishment was self-perpetuating over time. By force of common usage and indoctrination, as well as usefulness and necessity, households were maintained and developed over the two centuries with which we are concerned. The ability of the household to function successfully as an institution for such a wide variety of people meant that it tended to form an integral part of English society. Hence nobles, peasants, servants and freeholders used the household to deal with not only such old problems as economic balance and the presentation of an entourage in keeping with the master's status, but also with new difficulties. For instance, after the first legislation against livery and maintenance was enacted,⁷ masters and clients turned to the

household to solve problems of patronage. Certainly, in the fifteenth century, when most of this legislation was enacted, the number of sinecures in both royal⁸ and noble⁹ households increased. Once again, as nobles and royalty tried to cope with falling rents and the increased cost of luxury goods in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,¹⁰ their households functioned as structures through which monetary efficiency, if not always positive economy, could be practiced. The dependence of individuals and groups upon the institution of the household ensured its continuation and also its development until it was no longer capable of providing a flexible framework for experience.

Another, important but perhaps less obvious, way in which the household ensured its perpetuation was through its part in training and education. Both young nobles and gentry, and the children of commoners, ranging in age from seven to twenty, spent a large chunk of their childhood within a noble household, wherein well-born children might gain most of their academic and military training, and commoner youngsters could learn a useful trade. Both were in a position to make useful "contacts" with their peers, elders and betters which might in later years provide useful patronage or alliances. "Noble babes" in particular picked up the basic social rules by which their world worked: rules of hierarchy, polite behaviour, bearing, address, peer relationships and the giving and receiving of respect. It was a commonplace of mediaeval works concerned with children that learning to obey a master was essential in learning how to rule;¹¹ whether or not this cliché is empirically true, appearances would suggest that it was as likely to be their household training which perpetuated within generations of nobles and

gentry many of their ideas about social order and certainly about patronage. Contemporary courtesy books addressed to young noble "babes" in the households of the great, for instance, urge their hearers¹² to curry favour with the master, learn their place, and to be good friends to their peers¹³ — all precepts which, by their assumption of certain values, could inculcate the impressionable listener with concepts essential to mediaeval noble society.

The kitchen boys and scullery maids, common children who made up a large proportion of a household's infant population, were also encouraged to learn their place and to remain comfortably within it.¹⁴ If noble children learnt to rule in the household, commoners learnt to obey. In the process, however, they also acquired a trade which could later be plied within or without the household. In other words, households created social beings, teaching children their place and what to do with it. As well, the household indoctrinated children in the ways of the household, as well as society at large. Noble establishments made masters and servants and retainers, by teaching youngsters necessary skills of housekeeping, and by perpetuating in them the attitudes and assumptions about authority, order and community which made the household a viable institution.

If households functioned as institutions, which were used in a wide variety of fashions by numerous different sorts of people and which necessarily interacted with other forms and concepts governing mediaeval society, in what sometimes seems to be an organic manner, we must remember that K.B. McFarlane also said of institutions, "... this (independent life) is only an appearance. They are born, develop, change and decay by human agencies. Their life is the life

of the men who make them."¹⁵ This intimation of mortality leads one to remember that, just as households were changed and developed in order to continue as viable vehicles of noble action between 1350 and 1550, afterwards they were allowed to decay, in a sense, from social institutions to purely domestic establishments. Beginning with the Tudor monarch's often successful attempts to subdue and control English nobles, through heavy fines, recognizances and on occasion outright persecution, the gradual centralization of authority in King and Parliament eventually removed much of the political impetus of nobles to the royal court, where they could seldom bring their entire entourages, and away from their traditional provincial centres of support, where their households tended to remain. Consequently the role of the household as a kind of petty court was inevitably lessened, as more and more noble establishments came to resemble that of such absentee nobles as Hugh Luttrell, whose household sometimes disbanded entirely for a year or more.¹⁶

The lessening of the status of household servants was one of the earliest signs, or results, of this admittedly very gradual process. Between 1550 and 1600 one begins to note a general tendency for households to employ a greater percentage of women, whose roles could seldom have been more than wholly domestic, in the place of their more ambitious menfolk.¹⁷ Certainly by the early seventeenth century, servants such as William Basse (of minor-gentry stock, who served as page and later footman to Lord Wenman of Thame Park, Moreton, Oxfordshire from 1602 to 1633) were complaining about the loss of status and influence once theirs by virtue of their service.¹⁸ By the later seventeenth century, the fostering of noble children within the household had largely ceased;¹⁹ and by the eighteenth century even stewards (when not completely replaced by housekeepers) and valets

ceased to be drawn from gentle landholding families.²⁰

The process by which the servant class lost its gentility is a complicated one, due in part to what Laurence Stone has called "the crisis of the aristocracy" and their own loss of prestige, and to changing moral attitudes and assumptions. But at least part of the decline of the servant classes must be due to changes in the household environment in which they lived, and in particular to the gradual withdrawal from the household of an active part in the political career of its master. With less chance of prestige, vicarious power, influence, or advancement through the household, gentle families and more ambitious if less wealthy people must have been understandably reluctant to put their younger sons to work under a noble master. The common people who necessarily filled their positions were unlikely to be trusted generally by noble masters for some of the delicate negotiations formerly undertaken by householders; and hence the cycle continued. It is perhaps significant that, by the late seventeenth century, the phenomenon of rapid turnover among servants, which was to continue a serious problem through the rest of householding history, had appeared.²¹ Throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries one notes the increasing numbers of feminine servants, virtually reaching the majority by the 1690's;²² the steady withdrawal of political power from the realm of servants; and the household's loss of major treasury roles such as the Stafford establishment²³ enjoyed, including any part in estate receipts, and in some cases the entrusting of only minor sums to cover specific payments to the steward or housekeeper, rather than a regular household income.²⁴ While the household continued to be a domestic centre, contributed to the working of local economy and

became, if anything more than ever, a showpiece exhibiting its master's status, the breakdown of old systems of self-support and self-perpetuation in the Early Modern period, occasioned by the altered needs of the nobility, ultimately transformed the secular noble household into a radically different body, compared with its mediaeval successor.

The gradual domestication of the English nobility by the Crown eventually changed the character of the secular noble household; but until the sixteenth century at least, the mediaeval noble establishment operated as an institution, helping those within and without the household to structure and control their lives. Besides functioning as its master's machine for exerting political authority, as a religious community, as a controller of cash flows, and as a means for servants to better their circumstances, the household interacted with other concepts and institutions: for instance, it worked within the balance of the local economic community, legitimized forms of livery and maintenance, acted as a platform for the use of pageantry, coped with seasonal and generational changes, and assisted in the complex duties of estate administration. Ultimately, of course, the household acts as a guide to and illustration of the role of the nobility in society; between 1350 and 1550, the secular noble household in England, by its omnipresence in the concerns of individuals and groups of all kinds, sheds a new light on the extent of noble influence and involvement, while demonstrating an important structure through which mediaeval society controlled existence.

APPENDIX A - I

Household accounts, 1171-1359

Anonymous

Tempus Henry II or Richard I
day-roll, fragment, 2ms.
PRO E 101/631/1

Anonymous

1283
non-royal household ordinance
PRO C 47 3/33

Anonymous

1302
day-roll, 2 ms
PRO E 101/505/30

Anonymous

Tempus Edward III
day-roll
PRO E 101 510/13

Anonymous

Tempus Edward III
day-roll (in French)
PRO E 101 510/14

Anonymous

Tempus Edward III
day-roll
PRO E 101 510/17

Bohun, Humphrey de, and Roger Mortimer, Sons of (wards of the crown)
1341-1342
day-roll
PRO E 101 624/22

Bozoun, Thomas, of Woodford, Beds.
1328

day-roll, 1m.
Beds. RO; pr. in EHR vo. LV, 1940, pp.630-634.

Brabant, John of, and Thomas and Henry of Lancaster
1292-1293

day-rolls
PRO C 47 3/46/31; C 47 3/31/12; C 47 3/15/2. Pr.in Camden
Miscellany, vol. II (no. 55), 1853, pp.1-18.

Clare, Gilbert de, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford
1300-1309

day-rolls, chequer-rolls
Staffs. RO D 641/1/3/1; PRO DL 28/1/91/8-10; and a privately
owned day roll of 1309 pr. in Abbotsford Club vol. 3, 1836.

Clare, Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of
1326-1359

day-rolls, year-rolls, wardrobe accounts
PRO E 101 91/11-27, 92/4-16, 93/3-16, 94/2-17, 95/1-10, discussed
extensively in C.A. Musgrove, Household Administration in
the Fourteenth Century, unpublished M.A. Thesis at the
University of London, 1923.

Gray, Lord de, of Codnor

1304-1305

day-roll

Nottingham University Library Mi A/1; extracts pr. in HMC
Middleton Mss.

Godsalve, Dame

Tempus Edward III

year-roll

PRO E 101 510/4.

Holm, Roger de, of Holm, Norfolk

1328-1329

day-roll

Norfolk and Norwich RO NH 1; pr. in Archaeologia, vol. XXV,
pp. 411-569.

Lacy, Henry de, Earl of Lincoln

1283-1299

day-rolls

Nottingham RO Foljambe VIII B/1/iii/5; PRO DL 28/11

Lancaster, Thomas, Earl of

1318-1320

bill of household expenses; day-roll; wardrobe account

Nottingham RO Foljambe VIII B/2/v/33; PRO DL 29/1/3-4.

see also BRABANT

Lancaster, Henry, Earl of

see BRABANT

Mauduyt, John de

1312

day-roll

PRO E 101 506/19

Mauley, Peter, Baron de

Tempus Edward III

day-roll

PRO E 101 509/29

Montford, Eleanor, 6th Dowager Countess of Leicester

1265

day-roll

privately-owned, pr. in Roxburghe Club, vol. 58, 1841, and
discussed extensively in Margaret Wade La Barge, A Baronial
Household of the Thirteenth Century (London: Eyre and
Spottiswoode, 1965).

Mortimer, Roger

Tempus Edward I

day-roll

PRO E 101 370/19

see also BOHUN

Neville, Hugh de, of Essex

Tempus John or Henry III

day-rolls

PRO E 101 350/9, C 47 3/1, C 47 3/9.

Nyete, Madame La

Tempus Edward I

day-roll

PRO E 101 371/8/972

Pusey, John de

1171

day-roll

Berkshire RO W/Z-H 1

Strange, Hamon Le, of Hunstanton, Norfolk

1341-1352

day-rolls

Norfolk and Norwich RO NH 2-12 and Box 23 Misc.; extracts pr.
in Archaeologia vol. LXIX, 1920, pp.111-120. (see also
Appendix I - B).

Valence, de, Earls of Pembroke

Joan, dowager of William de Valence, styled Countess of Pembroke
1294-1296

day-rolls

PRO E 101 505/25-27

Aymar, her son, Earl of Pembroke

1320

day-roll

PRO E 101 372/4

Warrenne, de, Earls of Surrey

William and Isabell, 6th Earl and Countess

1230

day-roll

PRO E 101 505/17

John, 7th Earl

Tempus Edward I

day-roll

PRO E 101 371/897

APPENDIX A - II

Household accounts, 1372-1594

Anonymous

1544

Brewing Account

Bodleian ms. Dugdale 43 f.1.

Anonymous

tempus Henry VIII

day-book

PRO E 101 519/21

Beauchamp Earls of Warwick

Thomas, 3rd Earl

1372-1374

book of war-payments

BL add ms. 37,494 ff.2 et seq.

Elizabeth Berkeley, 5th Countess

1420-1421

day-book, 140 pp.

pr. in Trans. Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc., vol. LXX,
1951, pp. 81-105.

Richard, 5th Earl

1414-1457

day-books and year-accounts of Richard and his executors

BL. Add mss. 24, 513 f185, 32,091 f.32 28, 544 ff.253-268;

Warks. R.O. CR 1618/W19/6, pr. in U. Birmingham Hist. Journal, v. 2., 1950, pp. 208-218.

Brown, Sir Anthony, Henry VIII's Ambassador to France

1527-1532

day-book

Society of Antiquaries ms. 624.

Bryene, Alice de, of Acton Hall, Suffolk

1411-1419

day-books and year-accounts

PRO C 47 4/8a and b. Pr. in Marion K. Dale and V.B. Redstone,
Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene (Ipswich, 1931).

Catesby, John de

1379-1392

counter-rolls

PRO E 101 510/21; E 101 511/15.

Clifford, Sir Henry, 1st Earl of Cumberland, and family

1510-1594

day-books, year-accounts and stock accounts

Chatsworth mss. Clifford Accounts 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 12A,
13, 13A.

Cobham, Sir John

1408

year-account

pr. in The Antiquaries Journal, vol. II, 1922, pp. 339-343.

Courtenay, Earls of Devon

Philip, Admiral of the Western Fleet

1372-1374

war-payments

BL Add ms. Lat 37,494 f10 et seq.

- Edward, 3rd Earl
1382-1402
year accounts, expense accounts
Devon RO CR 488, CR 491, CR 535, CR 1466; BL. Add mss.64320.
- Henry Courtenay, armiger
1463-1465
year-accounts (abstracts)
WAM 3527 and WAM 9215.
- Katherine, 9th Dowager Countess
1523-1524
stock account
PRO E 36 223; summarized in Cal. Letters & Papers H. VIII,
vol. IV pt. 1, no. 177.
- Edward 11th Earl
1518-1542
day-books
PRO E 36/218, summarized in Cal. Letters & Papers H. VIII,
vol. III, pt. I, no. 152, and BL. Ms Stowe 554,
ff.23b and 43b.
- Henry, Marquess of Exeter
1525-1532
personal accounts
PRO E 36 225, summarized in Cal. Letters & Papers H. VIII,
vol. IV, pt. 1, no. 1792; BL. Add ms. 33,376, f.11.
- Cromwell, Lord Thomas
1536-1539
personal accounts
PRO E 36 256.
- Dacre, Leonard, Lord
1541-1542
kitchen accounts
Bodleian ms. Eng. Hist. c.267(R)oll.
- Don, Sir Edward, of Saunderton
1510-1551.
personal day-book
Warks. RO CR 895/106
- Fastolf, Sir John
1432-1459
building accounts and inventories
BL Add. Chs 17229-17231, pr. in Norfolk Archaeology, vol. XXX,
1952, pp. 178-186; and mss. Magdalene College Oxford, pr.
in Archaeologia, vol. XXI, 1827, pp.232-280.
- Ferrers Family of Baddesley Clinton
1533-1534
day-book
Shakespeare Birthplace Trust RO DR 3/731a and b.
- Fitzwilliam, Sir William, Treasurer of the King's Household
1528
year-account of Fitzwilliam's household
PRO E 101 518/46
- Gressham, Paul, of Little Walsingham, Norfolk
1542-1549
day books and year accounts
PRO E 36 255
- Hastings, Katherine and Hugh
1532-1459
day-books
Norfolk and Norwich RO, NH 15/1-8 and /10.

- Henry IV (when Earl of Derby)
1390-1393
day-books and year-accounts
PRO DL 28/1-10; pr. in Camden Society new series vol. 52, 1894.
- Hillary, Thomas
1548
personal day-book
PRO E 101 520/5.
- Howard, Dukes of Norfolk
John, 1st Duke
1462-1487
year accounts and day-books
privately owned; pr. in Roxburghe Club, vol. 58, 1841,
and vol. 61, 1844.
- Thomas, 2nd Duke
1525
day-book, 15 pp.
privately owned; pr. in Norfolk Archaeology, vol. XV, 1904,
pp. 51-60.
- Hussey, John
Early 16th century
day-books
PRO E 36 282 and 283.
- Langley, High
1473
day-book, 33 pp.
PRO E 101 516/9
- Long, Lady Margaret, of Hengrove Hall
1541-1572
3 day-books
Cambridge University Library Hengrave Hall mss. 82 (1-3).
- Lovell, Sir Thomas
1522-1523
year-account
Duke of Rutland mss., Hist Man Com, vol. IV.
- Manners, Thomas, 1st Earl of Rutland
1524-1537
day-book and year-accounts
Duke of Rutland mss., Hist Man Com, vol. IV.
- Melton, Robert
1499-1508
Commonplace book including seven accounts
pr. in Lady Caroline Kerrison and Lucy Toulmin Smith, A Common-
place Book of the Fifteenth Century, (London, 1886)
- Mowbray, John, Earl Marshall
1416-1417
war-payments
Berkeley Castle Muniments, Box no. 9.
- Neville, Richard, Earl of Warwick
1450-1460
year-accounts
Warwick Castle Muniments; pr. in Journal of the British Arch.
Assn., vol. LXXV (New Series XXV), 1919, pp. 260-261.
- Paget, Sir William
1546-1556
inventories, year-account, day-book
Greater London (Middlesex) RO Acc. 446/H/1,2,12,13

Parr, William, Marquess of Northampton
1553

day-books

PRO E 101 631/43 and E 101 520/9

Paulet, William, Earl of Wiltshire and first Marquess of Winchester
1549 or 1550

day-book

PRO E 101 520/7

Percy, Earls of Northumberland

Henry Algernon, 5th Earl

1510-c.1526

Ordinances, and day-books

The NHB (ed. Thomas Percy, privately pr. 1770 and 1826)

is a ms. at Alnwick Castle; an "appendix" or second volume of the NHB is at the Bodleian, ms. English Hist. b.208; a day-book is PRO E 36 226; another is pr. in Archaeologia vol. XXVI, 1836, pp.395-405.

Henry, 9th Earl

c.1572

Instructions to his son Algernon, including remarks on the household pr. in Archaeologia Vol. XXVII, 1838, pp. 306-358.

Petre, Sir William

1539-1571

day-books

Essex RO D/DPR 1-4, 10, 12, 13, 16; calendar and extracts pr. in F.G. Emmison, Tudor Secretary, (London, 1961).

Seymour, Sir John (Father of Queen Jane Seymour)

Tempus Edward VI

day-book

PRO E 101 520/11

Le Strange Family (Hunstanton, Norfolk)

Thomas

1519-1537

day-books

Norfolk and Norwich RO NH 15/1, 2, 9, 10

Nicholas

1545-1579

day-books

Norfolk and Norwich RO NH 14, 24, 25, 30

extracts pr. in Archaeologia, Vol. XXV, 1834, pp. 411-569.

Talbot Family of Blakemere and Longford, Salop

Richard

1393-1404

year-accounts

Salop RO Box 85 Bridgewater Collection, SR 0212:1, 2

Dowager Lady Talbot

1410-1420

year-accounts

Salop RO Box 85 Bridgewater Collection, SR 0212: 3, 5, 7

Gilbert, Lord Talbot

1417-1425

year-accounts

Salop RO Box 85 Bridgewater Collection, SR 0212: 4, 6

(Bridgewater Collection SR 0212: 1-6 are pr. in Barbara Ross, The Accounts of the Talbot Household, unpublished thesis for the University of Canberra, Australia, 1970, of which there is a copy in the Salop RO).

- Talbot of Longford (Cadet line of Earls of Shrewsbury)
 late 16th Century
 day-book
 pr. in Trans. Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc., vol. I,
 1878, pp.1-14.
- Vredale, William, of Wickham, Hampshire
 1478-1479
 personal day-book
 Bodleian ms. Lyell 35, ff.35-8.
- Vernon, George, d. 1553, and John, m. 1564, of Haddon Hall (Derbyshire)
 1549 and 1564
 year-accounts
 pr. in Journal of the Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc., Vol. XVI,
 1894, pp. 61-85.
- Waterton, Robert, of Mexborough (Yorkshire)
 1418-1448
 day-book, year-accounts
 Leeds RO Mexborough Collection: Manorial Records, Thorner:
 Accounts, 9, 13 and 14.
- Willoughby, Sir Henry, of Wollaton (Notts)
 1509-1559
 day-books, inventories
 University of Nottingham Library, Middleton Collection: Accounts
 (MIA) 2-20, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30-33, 37-41 and Mi:
 Inventories (MiI) 2, 33, 35, 36, 37.

APPENDIX B

The averages of income and expenditure shown on this chart are derived from the accounts used throughout this thesis for the Staffords, de Veres, Cromwells, Luttrells and Stonors, which are listed in the first part of the bibliography. Certain of the accounts, in particular those of the Stonors, do not adapt themselves readily to this kind of statistical presentation, and therefore the sums and percentages given are only approximations which must be used carefully.

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Abbreviations Used in This Appendix

AEH	Average Yearly Expenditure of the Household
AIH	Average Yearly Income of the Household
AYI	Average Yearly Income of the Lord
FI	Food Items
NFI	Non-Food Items
T	Total

AYI-T

AIH in:

arrears	(% AIH-T)
cash from estates	"
sales	"
cash from private coffers	"
goods received	"
credit	"

AIH-T

(% AYI-T)

AEH in:

NFI: cloth and clothing	(% AEH-T)
other goods	"
carting expenses	"
craftsmens' wages	"
building material	"
agricultural expenses	"
servants' wages	"

NFI-T

(% AEH-T)

FI: red meat	(% AEH-T)
poultry	"
fish	"
dairy products, eggs	"
grain	"
ale and wine	"
fruit, vegetables, spices	"

FI-T

(% AEH-T)

AEH-T

(% AIH-T)

The First Duke of Buckingham

4400 li*

235	li	8s	6d		(16.5%)
82	li	14s	3d	ob qua	(5.8%)
660	li	4s	9d	ob qua	(46.2%)
55	li	1s	10d		(3.9%)
394	li	5s	2d	ob	(27.6%)
1427	li	14s	8d		(32.5%)
16	li	3s		qua	(1.1%)
164	li	6s	10d	ob qua	(11.0%)
8	li	5s	10d		(0.5%)
25	li	5s	6d		(1.7%)
25	li	5s	6d		(1.7%)
25	li	5s	6d		(1.7%)
106	li	12s		qua	(7.1%)
371	li	2s	3d	qua	(24.8%)
155	li	18s	6d	ob	(10.4%)
55	li	5s	6d		(3.7%)
108	li	18s	10d	ob qua	(7.3%)
200	li	9s	2d	ob qua	(13.4%)
82	li	8s	3d	ob	(5.6%)
403	li	17s	6d	qua	(27.6%)
107	li	5s		ob	(7.2%)
1122	li	15s	3d	ob	(75.2%)
1493	li	15s	3d	oob	(overspent)

*based on Longleat ms. 6410; see
also BIHR 26, 1953, pp. 1-28.

Anne First Dowager Duchess of Buckingham

1467 li*

97 li .5s 3d ob	(8.7%)
21 li 14s 10d	(2.0%)
53 li 4s 8d ob	(4.8%)
480 li 19s 9d ob	(43.0%)
132 li 14s 1d	(11.9%)
329 li 17s 7d ob	(29.6%)
1115 li 16s 4d	(76.1%)
27 li 7s 6d	(3.4%)
47 li 18s 10d	(6.05%)
10 li 10s 9d ob	(1.38%)
8 li 4s 2d	(1.05%)
<hr/>	
8 li 8s	(1.1%)
56 li	(7.0%)
158 li 9s 3d ob	(20.0%)
177 li 12s 4d	(22.1%)
67 li 16s ob	(8.4%)
83 li 13s 2d	(10.4%)
63 li 3s 3d	(7.9%)
74 li 17s 1d	(9.4%)
156 li 3s 3d	(19.4%)
19 li 6s 1d	(2.4%)
641 li 15s 2d ob	(80.0%)
800 li 4s 6d	(71.7%)

*based on Longleat ms. 6410; see
also BIHR 26, 1953, pp. 1-28.

Henry Lord Stafford and Margaret Beaufort

355 li 11s 4d*

 185 li 3s 3d (100%)

 185 li 3s 3d (52.1%)

4 li 11s 6d ob (4.0%)

9 li 10s 7d (8.0%)

1 li 18s 11d ob (1.7%)

6s 3d ob (0.3%)

2 li 5s 11d ob (2.0%)

29 li 19s 1d (25.5%)

48 li 12s 5d (41.5%)

7 li 12s 1d ob (6.5%)

 2 li 1s 6d (1.8%)

15 li 5s 4d (13.0%)

42 li 2s 9d ob (36.0%)

1 li 7s 4d (1.2%)

68 li 9s 1d (58.5%)

117 li 1s 6d (63.3%)

*based on CPR 1467-1476, p. 298;
see also Rawcliffe, p. 125.

The Third Duke of Buckingham

5649 li*

146 li 16s 8d	(3.5%)
264 li 19s 12d	(6.4%)
32 li 12s 10d ob	(0.8%)
3486 li 2s 10d	(84.2%)
120 li 1s 5d ob	(3.0%)
87 li 13s 7d ob	(2.1%)

4138 li 7s 5d ob	(73.3%)
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655 li	(26.0%)
230 li	(9.0%)
198 li 7d ob	(7.9%)
75 li 11s 4d ob	(3.0%)
75 li 11s 4d ob	(3.0%)
75 li 11s 4d ob	(3.0%)
204 li 15s 10d	(8.5%)

1514 li 10s 7d	(60.4%)
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268 li	(10.7%)
50 li	(2.0%)
268 li	(10.7%)

37 li	(1.4%)
122 li	(4.9%)
247 li 12s 4d qua	(9.9%)

992 li 12s 4d qua	(39.6%)
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2507 li 2s 11d qua	(60.1%)
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*based on Rawcliffe, p.133.

Henry Baron Stafford

900 li*

31 li	4s	2d	ob	(4.1%)
394 li	12s	2d	ob	(52.4%)
132 li	19s	5d		(17.7%)
32 li	15s	7d	ob	(4.4%)
17 li	16s	2d		(2.3%)
143 li	13s	4d		(19.1%)
753 li		11d	ob	(83.6%)
77 li	9s			(15.5%)
40 li	16s	8d		(8.1%)
7 li	17s			(1.6%)
<hr/>				
40 li	16s	4d		(8.1%)
7 li	17s			(1.6%)
65 li	11s	7d		(13.1%)
240 li	7s	7d		(48.1%)
59 li	18s	10d	ob	(12.0%)
<hr/>				
41 li	4s	6d		(8.3%)
29 li	5s			(5.6%)
74 li	4s	11d	ob	(14.8%)
48 li	6s			(9.8%)
6 li	16s	11d		(1.4%)
259 li	16s	3d		(51.9%)
500 li	3s	10d		(66.5%)

*based on Rawcliffe, pp. 136, 182-183.

The Twelfth Earl of Oxford

650 li 17s 4d*

425 li	2s	3d		(97.0%)
7 li	4s	19d	ob	(2.0%)
5 li	1s			(1.0%)

437 li 8s 10d ob (67.2%)

33 li	17s	10d	ob	(6.9%)
30 li	8s	3d	qua	(6.3%)
11 li	4s	7d	ob qua	(2.4%)
28 li	15s	4c		(5.8%)
45 li	17s	3d		(9.4%)
4 li	8s	8d		(0.9%)
76 li	10s			(15.6%)

231 li 2s ob (47.3%)

42 li	2s	6d		(8.7%)
5 li	18s	10d	ob	(1.2%)
48 li	15s	9d	qua	(10.0%)

50 li	13s	3d	ob	(10.4%)
86 li	17s	6d		(17.7%)
23 li	2s	6d		(4.7%)

257 li 10s 5d qua (52.7%)

488 li 12s 5d ob qua (overspent)

*based on Returns of receivers-general
in 1422-1423 and 1437-1438 (Essex RO
D/DPR 138 and BL Add ms 40,009 a & b.)

The Thirteenth Earl of Oxford

2961 li 11s 8d*

 891 li 6s 9d (100%)

891 li 6s 9d (100%)

115 li 18s 2d (7.4%)

16s 2d (0.05%)

4 li 12s 10d (0.29%)

2 li 4d ob (0.13%)

4 li 12s 10d (0.29%)

2 li 15s 9d (0.18%)

121 li 17s 5d (7.86%)

252 li 13s 6d (16.2%)

} 1498 li 13s 11d (85.6%)

1498 li 13s 11d (83.8%)

1551 li 7s 5d ob (overspent)

*based on returns of receivers-general
 in 1488-1489 (Essex RO D/DPR 139).

The Sixteenth Earl of Oxford

3311 li 19s 5d ob qua*

620 li 7d (100%)

620 li 7d (100%)

} 547 li 10s (43.1%)

103 li 13s 11d (8.1%)

651 li 3s 11d (51.2%)

} 620 li 1d (48.8%)

620 li 1d (48.8%)

1271 li 4s (overspent)

*based on returns of receivers-general
in 1550-1551 (Essex RO D/DPR 140).

William and Margaret Cromwell

150 li*

8 li 2s 10d (90.5%)

83 li 4s 6d (8.8%)

12s 8d ob (0.7%)

91 li 18s (61.3%)

4 li 7s 11d (8.3%)

4 li 12s 7d ob (8.6%)

4 li 11s 11d qua (8.5%)

8s 5d ob (0.8%)

2s (0.2%)

15 li 5d ob qua (28.0%)

4 li 19s 6d ob (9.3%)

34 li 2s 11d ob (63.7%)

8 li 8s 9d (15.7%)

2 li 13s 4d (5.0%)

5 li 10d qua (9.4%)

2 li 13s 4d (5.0%)

12s 4d (1.2%)

19 li 8s 7d qua (36.3%)

53 li 11s 6d ob qua (58.3%)

*based on poll tax of 1436 (EHR
49, 1934, pp. 607-638):

Ralph Lord Cromwell

2263 li*

97 li	20s	7d	(57.2%)
641 li	1s	2d ob	(8.8%)
30 li	22s	8d	(2.8%)
127 li	13s	5d	(11.4%)
221 li	6s	8d qua	(19.8%)

1119 li 4s 6d ob qua (49.5%)

{	412 li	11s	(38.6%)
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56 li 13s 10d (5.4%)

469 li 4s 10d (44.0%)

186 li 14s 6d ob (17.4%)

{	412 li	11s	(38.6%)
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599 li 5s 6d ob (56.0%)

1068 li 10s 4d ob (47.2%)

*based on a survey of 1455, PRO
 SC 11/822; see also BIHR 37, 1964,
 pp. 1-30.

Joan and Robert Radcliffe

1300 li*

32 li	(42.0%)
6 li 5s 3d	(8.2%)
37 li 19s 2d	(49.8%)

76 li 4s 5d	(6.0%)
2s 1d	(0.2%)
1 li 8s 8d	(2.5%)
1 li 16s 9d	(3.3%)
1 li 8s 8d	(2.5%)
1 li 8s 8d	(2.5%)
1 li 8s 8d	(2.5%)

7 li 13s 6d	(13.5%)
7 li 7s 7d ob	(13.0%)
4 li 4s 1d ob	(7.3%)
8 li 19s 1d	(15.7%)
4 li 4s 1d ob	(7.3%)
21 li 13s 3d ob	(38.1%)
2 li 7s 6d	(4.2%)
8s 10d ob	(0.8%)
49 li 4s 7d ob	(86.5%)
56 li 18s 1d ob	(74.4%)

*based on the jointure of Ralph, Lord Cromwell's lands and an estimate of Radcliffe's income; see BIHR 37, 1964, pp. 1-30. ~

Sir Hugh Luttrell

700 li*

 111 li 11s 2d ob (91.0%)

 11 li 19s 12d (9.0%)

122 li 11s 2d ob (17.5%)

6 li 8s 11d ob qua (4.3%)

17s 1d (0.6%)

1s 4d ob (0.03%)

4 li (2.7%)

1 li 4s 8d (0.8%)

2s (0.07%)

42 li 16s 8d (28.5%)

55 li 10s 8d qua (37.0%)

14 li 13s 10d ob (9.8%)

11 li 8s 6d qua (7.6%)

19 li 15s 2d (13.0%)

11 li 1s 2d qua (7.4%)

6s 3d (0.2%)

32 li 4s 3d ob qua (21.4%)

5 li 9s (3.6%)

94 li 18s 3d ob qua (63.0%)

150 li 9s (overspent)

*based on an estimate of 1445 (see Maxwell-Lyte, History, vol. I, pp. 118-119), and Hugh's known annuities.

John and Margaret Luttrell

350 li*

		11d	qua	(0.3%)
21 li	12s	8d ob		(70.3%)
9 li		11d		(29.4%)
<hr/>				
<hr/>				
<hr/>				
30 li	13s	7d ob		(8.8%)
11 li	7s	5d ob		(12.02%)
		6d		(0.06%)
	3s	2d		(1.02%)
<hr/>				
<hr/>				
	2s			(0.1%)
7 li	8s	3d		(8.0%)
19 li	1s	4d ob		(21.2%)
7 li	5s	8d		(8.1%)
	16s	9d ob		(1.0%)
11 li	15s			(13.1%)
11 li	17s	5d Ob		(13.2%)
	18s	1d ob		(1.0%)
35 li	14s	4d ob		(39.8%)
2 li	5s	11d	qua	(2.6%)
70 li	13s	4d	qua	(78.8%)
89 li	14s	8d ob	qua	(overspent)

*based on an estimate of 1445 minus
dower of Catherine Luttrell (Maxwell-
Lyte, History, vol. I, pp. 118-119),
plus John's known annuities.

Thomas Stonor I

1200 li*

17 li	2s	8d	(11.9%)
6 li	5s	1d	(4.3%)
109 li	6s	8d	(76.8%)
10 li		4d	(7.0%)

142 li	14s	9d	(12.0%)
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2 li			(1.6%)
5 li	6s	4d	(4.2%)
	5s		(0.2%)
	4s		(0.15%)
	7s	4d	(0.3%)
	18s		(0.75%)
13 li	6s	8d	(10.5%)

22 li	7s	4d	(17.7%)
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95 li	10s	5d	(75.7%)
2 li	4s	1d	(1.7%)
2 li	5s	4d	(1.8%)
	3s		(0.11%)
3 li			(2.43%)
	4s	5d	(0.16%)
	12s	3d	(0.5%)

103 li	19s	6d	(82.3%)
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126 li	6s	10d	(88.5%)
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*based on CPR 1471-1474, p. 487.

Thomas Stonor II

1200 li*

34 li	16s	8d	(7.7%)
12 li	10s	4d	(2.8%)
389 li	9s		(86.2%)
15 li			(3.3%)

451 li	16s		(37.7%)
2 li	9s	5d	(0.9%)
18 li	11s	4d	(6.6%)
	2s		(0.036%)
	2s		(0.036%)
4 li	1s	2d	(1.45%)
2 li	8s		(0.86%)
61 li	17s	4d	(22.1%)
89 li	11s	3d	(32.0%)
168 li	14s	4d	(60.3%)
	2s		(0.36%)
3 li	11s	6d	(1.3%)
	5s	4d	(0.1%)
17 li	6s	2d	(6.22%)

	2s	2d	(0.44%)
190 li	1s	6d	(68.0%)
279 li	12s	9d	(61.9%)

*based on CPR 1471-1474, p. 487.

Sir William Stonor

1700 li*

150 li	(28.5%)
15 li 10s 4d	(3.0%)
300 li	(57.5%)
55 li 16s	(11.0%)

521 li 6s 4d	(30.6%)
37 li 11s 8d	(11.8%)
8s 10d	(0.2%)
18s 10d	(0.3%)
6 li 5s	(2.0%)
2 li 14s 8d	(0.8%)
5 li 6s 4d	(1.6%)
62 li 19s 4d	(19.1%)
116 li 4s 8d	(35.3%)
205 li 11s 10d	(61.3%)
1 li 8s 4d	(0.45%)
2 li 1s 10d	(0.7%)
6s	(0.1%)
2 li 16s	(0.9%)
6s 2d	(0.1%)
15s 4d	(0.2%)
213 li 5s 6d	(64.7%)
329 li 10s 2d	(63.2%)

*based on his will (S L & P, 1,
p. xxxv).

APPENDIX C

Education in the Household

The role of secular noble households in late-mediaeval English education has been discussed in various chapters in this thesis: in especial III, Household Organization; IV, Householders; and VIII, "In Negociis Domini", which consider social-training and trade-apprenticeship as well as academic instruction as it occurred in the household. This fascinating subject has not, however, received its own chapter in this thesis, for several reasons. There is little concrete information about how the household's educational role was manifested, nor the extent to which it was an institutionalized phenomenon; it is usually very difficult to obtain detailed knowledge of how household children were educated, in whatever sense of the word. Specific information about academic instruction, beyond its existence, is scarce or non-existent. The learning of a trade by children within the household seems to have been done through general example and observation rather than a formal apprenticeship. While we can sometimes see its results, social training was not a matter of course-work so much as a kind of osmosis, and the sources we have do not permit our tracing of its processes in any given household.

Further research might reveal more about how the secular noble household provided education, and how the household was regarded as a source for the training of children, noble and common, by English society, and how it compared with other educational institutions such as grammar schools, but would almost certainly take the subject beyond the scope of this thesis. One's general impression, from what evidence is available, is that education may have taken place in, but was not of, the household structure and purpose, and one is reduced

to conceptualizing educational processes rather than the secular noble household when one turns to the topic." Nevertheless, Nicholas Orme, among others, has recently expressed an interest in the part of the household in mediaeval education; and the author has considered it expedient to make available in this thesis the evidence of forms of education within the household which have been uncovered in the course of research, which may prove useful in some later work.

Of the five families whose households have been the chief consideration of this thesis, four had distinct and recognizable ways of educating their young: offspring of the lord, wards, fostered children, and child-servants. The first and third Stafford Dukes of Buckingham, Henry Lord Stafford and Margaret Beaufort, and the first Duchess of Buckingham all kept tutors for all their well-born charges. The third Duke's guarderobier has left us a rare account of some of the books he bought for the children in the Duke's care in 1503/4: courtesy books, primers and grammar books, pencases and penknives. The same account, however, also includes bows and arrows, armour and other martial equipment for the Duke's son, wards and pages.¹ There was also a female "nursery governor" for the Duke's daughters in 1517.² Clearly, as well as academic studies, the noble children in the Stafford households learned knightly and probably domestic skills. All these households mentioned above also kept singing masters for their children of the chapel, who not only directed these young singers but taught basic music and liturgical knowledge which they could use as adults; as singers or in other positions. The male Stafford heirs were also given practical training which they later put to good use: Humphrey and Henry served their father the first

Duke as estate agents while still in their teens;³ and the third Duke's heir, Henry Baron Stafford, was appointed his father's estates steward in 1519, when he was eighteen.⁴ Such administrative training doubtless lies behind the undoubted ability of the Staffords to squeeze the maximum profit out of their lands.

The twelfth and thirteenth Earls of Oxford, as well, retained tutors and singing masters for their charges; but the thirteenth Earl also fostered his nephew on the Vicar of Codsall for at least a year, and also employed a "sergeant" to teach the noble youths chivalric skills, and a "master of boys".⁵ It is not clear whether the latter was in charge of noble children in the household, or child-servants, or both. The Cromwells, on the other hand, show no sign of having had any educational forms within the household. William and Margaret Cromwell and the Radcliffes had few wards or child-servants, of course, but Ralph Lord Cromwell had a number of wards and an average of five child-servants between 1444 and 1451.⁶ The one offspring of any of these families, Robert (who died in 1441), son of William and Margaret and later a ward of Ralph, never has a tutor recorded among his attendants.

The Luttrells and Stonors present a similar dichotomy. Hugh Luttrell employed schoolmasters for his own offspring and fostered children, and a "master of henxmen" in 1405/6, the Luttrells' six kitchen and stable boys being grouped as the "henxmen".⁷ Their master was presumably in charge of their discipline and training. In addition, Hugh's eldest son John was achieving practical experience in estate administration from about the age of fifteen, like the Stafford sons, helping to collect rents and eventually taking over the running of the manor of Carhampton.⁸ The Stonors,

however, never kept either schoolmaster or tutor or master of boys, despite their large numbers of offspring, wards, foster-children and child-servants in all generations. Edmund Stonor's son Edmund was sent to a grammar-school at Ewelme, Oxfordshire, not far from Stonor;⁹ the Thomas Stonors I and II lived with their guardian Thomas Chaucer at Ewelme and, one might infer, most probably attended the same establishment. Thomas Stonor I's papers include an agreement for the education as well as the maintenance of his daughter Isabella by her grandparents,¹⁰ though giving no details of what this education should consist of. It is possible that some of the Stonors' young charges, in particular the girls, may have received academic instruction from one of the numerous chaplains. William Stonor, like John Luttrell and the Staffords, was from his early teens given practical experience in estate administration, looking after the Stonors' Devon holdings under the watchful eye of his uncle.¹¹ William's unmarried sisters were fostered by the Duchess of Suffolk.¹²

The evidence for practical, academic, knightly and domestic training provided in the household for offspring, wards, fostered children and child-servants as shown in our five families is backed up by further notable examples which have been uncovered in the course of research. John, Geoffrey and Humphrey, sons of Humphrey de Bohun, and Edmund and Roger, sons of Roger Mortimer, wards of the King, were in 1341/2 provided with a clerk who seems to have looked after their education as well as their maintenance.¹³ Payments to tutors and purchases of pens, paper and books for the children of Sir Henry Clifford (later Earl of Cumberland), during the reign of Henry VIII, are to be found in the Clifford documents at Chatsworth.¹⁴

John Ffouke, governor and tutor to the sons of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, has left a detailed expense account for the years 1395 to 1400.¹⁵

At the other end of the social scale, the accounts of Lady Margaret Long, of Hengrave Hall, Cambridgeshire, include a book of charges for Thomas Kytson, a ward of the Longs in 1571/2.¹⁶ Even more interesting are the payments made by Robert Melton, a yeoman farmer, for the support of his wife's young brother; the commonplace book in which these payments are made includes a "courtesy book" or poem detailing social moves for the enlightenment of children.¹⁷ The Paston and Plumpton letters however tell us more about the fostering of these families' offspring in other households rather than education in the parents' home; as do the accounts of Sir William Petre for his daughter Thomasine (1554-1556) and his son John (1567-1570).¹⁸

The Northumberland Household Book, on the other hand, includes numerous provisions for the education of common and noble children in the household of the fifth Percy Earl of Northumberland: singing masters, disciplinary governors, sergeants for military training, and academic tutors¹⁹ -- probably the most comprehensive example of anything like a household educational system, though its actual implementation is not certain. Perhaps more typical would be the arrangements made for Anne Talbot, daughter of Gilbert Lord Talbot, who had a governess and tutor, but who was also given practical experience in handling household money and overseeing the daily account book, between 1402 and 1411;²⁰ or for Sir Henry Willoughby of Wollaton's young charges in 1549, whose tutor bought for them Thomas Elyot's Boke Named The Governor, a treatise on the education

of those young nobles destined to hold authority.²¹

Other useful sources for education in the secular noble household can be found in some of the literature, like Elyot's Book mentioned above, which we have seen were used for the instruction of children in the household. "Courtesy books" such as Stans Puer Ad Mensam and The ABC of Aristotle, as well as more ambitious treatises like Elyot's work, had a wide circulation — there are at least fifty extant copies of Stans Puer Ad Mensam. They are as much or more concerned with behaviour and social rules as with academic matters, and many are quite clearly written for the benefit of children living in a great household. Some, like The BabeesBook, instruct noble children in service to their lord, such as holding his washbasin for him before meals, and also such differing points of etiquette as blowing the nose at table and holding conversation with one's betters. Others, like John Russell's Boke of Nurture or The Wise Man's Advice to His Son, teach skills like carving, waiting service and proper serving order to youngsters making a career of household service. F.J. Furnivalls collections of such poems, published by EETS, are still the most comprehensive.²² The English Linguistics series published by the Scholar Press between 1967 and 1972 publishes some early English courtesy books, and also some of the early grammar books probably used in academic instruction in the household.

Obviously it is difficult to come to any generalizations about education in the household, even in this very cursory presentation of the evidence. Of influential peers with large households, who might be expected to depend on education for extending their and their children's patronage and creating a generation of servants,

Ralph Cromwell and the Howards Dukes of Norfolk²³ show no sign of providing any forms for education, while on the other hand the Percys and Staffords do. Wealthy gentry families, who had relatively small, basically practical households but who were heavily dependant on county society, and for whom the provision of an educational centre in the household might give them the vital edge in extending patronage and consolidating social ties — of these, the Stonors, despite their many offspring, wards and child-servants, seem to have depended largely on grammar schools; while the Luttrells, with fewer children in their care, had their own tutor and master of boys. It may be that a great deal depended on the quality and availability of other educational institutions, though one would believe that, for both noble and common parents, the advantages of patronage would overcome academic considerations. More promising seems the general impression that those lords whom we know provided education of some kind in the household, are generally recorded as giving such instruction during the period when their own children or heirs required some form of training. The first Duke of Buckingham had more wards and child-servants in the 1440's, when his own children were young, than in the 1450's, and it is from the earlier mss. that the tutors are recorded.²⁴ Similarly the 13th Duke of Oxford is recorded as employing a boy's choir, singing-masters and tutors only from the 1490's, when his nephew and heir became his ward.²⁵ During this period of their lives, Lords were probably most naturally concerned with the whole question of education and training of the young, and when they seem to have been the most amenable to instituting it themselves, whether their own children were living at home or were fostered; while childless or older lords like Ralph

Cromwell and Elizabeth de Burgh²⁶ were less interested in the advantages concomitant with the household playing an educational role. Though there are notable exceptions to this rule, such as the Stonors, most families do seem to exhibit this tendency.

While a detailed study of education in the household does not really fit into the scope of this thesis, the evidence for such education summarized in this appendix could form the basis of an article, or could be used in a wider survey of education in the later middle ages, in most of which private instruction is a much-neglected aspect.

APPENDIX D

Though not within the scope of this thesis, a general survey of ecclesiastical households would be exceptionally useful. This list of sources for such a survey is by no means complete; but it includes ms. and printed material that is either not very well-known, or which the author has found to be particularly useful in discovering the nature of the mediaeval ecclesiastical household in England. General information on ecclesiastical households can be found in Susan Wood, English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century (OUP, 1955), and in R.L. Storey, Diocesan Administration in the Fifteenth Century (St. Anthony's Hall Publications, No. 16, 1959).

Anonymous, Abbot of "Holy Trinity Priory"

tempus Edward I

PRO E.36.108

Anonymous, monastic cellarer's roll

1483-1484

Essex RO D/DRG 2/13

Bicknacre Priory (Essex)

John Hennicker Major, "Account of Bicknacre Priory",
in Archaeologia, vol. 11, 1794, pp.255-266.

Bridport, Munden's Chantry

15th Century

K.L. Wood-legh, A Small Household of the Fifteenth Century
(Manchester UP, 1956)

Canterbury, William, Wareham, Archbishop of (1504-1532)

1521-1522

PRO E.101.518/33

Carlisle, Richard Bell, Bishop of (1478-1495)

1485-1486

Carlisle RO DRC 2/7-30

Carlisle, John Penny, Bishop of (1508-1520)

1515-1517

Carlisle RO DRC 2/7-30

Clare, Bogo de, treasurer of York Minster (1284-1290)

1284-1286

PRO E.101. 91/1-7, 31; pr. in Archaeologia, vol. 70, 1918-1920,
pp. 1-56.

Coventry and Lichfield, John Hals, Bishop of (1459-1490)

1461

STAFFS RO D(W) 1734/3/3/264

- Durham, Thomas Langley, Bishop of (1406-1437)
1408
Gaillard T. Lapsley, ed., "The Account-Roll of a Fifteenth-Century Iron Master (of Bishop Langley)", in *EHR*, vol.14, 1899, pp.516-529.
- Durham, Thomas Langley, Bishop of (1406-1437)
1406-1437
R.L. Storey, Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham, (London: S.P.C.K., 1961), pp.92-104.
- Durham Priory
1400-1450
R.B. Dobson, Durham Priory, 1400-1450 (CUP, 1973).
- Durham Priory
1530-1539
James Raine, ed., Durham Household Book (Surtees Society, vol.18, 1844).
- Ely, Thomas Arundel, Bishop of (1373-1383; later Archbishop of York and then Canterbury)
1383
PRO E 101 510/27, discussed in Margaret Aston, Thomas Arundel: A Study of Church Life in Reign of Richard II (OCP, 1967), esp. chapter 2.
- Finchale Priory (County Durham)
1241-1536
James Raine, ed., Priory of Finchale (Surtees Society, vol.6, 1837).
- Hereford, Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of (1289-1290)
1289-1290
John Webb, ed., Household Roll of Bishop Swinfield (Camden Society, vols. 59 and 62, 1853 and 1855).
- Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of (1236-1253)
c.1240
F.J. Furnivall, ed., "Bishop Grosseteste's Household Statutes", in The Babees Book (EETS, vol. 32, 1868).
- Norwich, Richard Courtenay, Bishop of (1413-1415)
1414-1415
BL Add.ms. 24,513,f.68.
- Ramsey (Hunts.), Robert of Reading, Abbot of (1202-1206)
tempus John
PRO E.36.107.
- Selby Abbey (Yorkshire)
1335-1437
Hull University Library, mss. D DLO/20/50(1438-1439), 51(1475-1476), 54(1413-1414); Westminster Diocesan Archives, mss. Sec.Ac.6. (1335-1342), and Sec. Ac.10(1416-1417); the last pr. in Yorkshire Arch. Journal, vol. 48, 1976, pp.119-134.
- York, Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal Archbishop of (1514-1530).
1528-1529
PRO E.101. 518/14 (Compiled by Thomas Cromwell).
- York Minster, Vicars Choral of
15th Century
Frederick Harrison, Life in a Mediaeval College: The Story of the Vicars Choral of York Minster (London: John Murray, 1952).

APPENDIX E

Genealogical Charts

The Staffords	page 363
The de Veres	" 365
The Cromwells	" 366
The Luttrells	" 367
The Stonors	" 368

The Staffords (I)

Ralph de Tonei d. 1039

Ralph de Tonei d. 1102

Robert Stafford d. 1088

Margaret Basset = Edmund, first Lord Stafford d. 1308
(5 x great-grandson of the above)

¹ Katherine Hastang = Ralph, first Earl of Stafford d. 1372

² Margaret Audeley

Ralph d. 1347 four daughters Hugh, second Earl = Philippa Beauchamp d. 1386

Ralph d. 1385

William, fourth Earl d. 1395

Thomas, third Earl = ¹ Anne, daughter of ² Edmund, fifth Earl d. 1392
³ Thomas of Woodstock d. 1430

Sir William Bouchier, Count of Eu d. 1420

for issue see next page

Margaret

Joan

Catherine

Hugh, Lord Bouchier

Michael de la Pole Duke of Kent
Thomas Holland Ralph Neville Earl of Westmoreland

Henry, Earl of Essex d. 1483 Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury d. 1486 William, Lord John, Lord Berners Eleanor = John, Duke of Norfolk Fitzaurin d. 1474 d. 1461

Compiled from information in Ravcliffe, CCR, CPR, CF, DNB, Pugh.

The Staffords (II)

Edmund, fifth Earl ² = Anne, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock d. 1433

Philippa

¹ Anne = Edmund, Earl of March d. 1425
² = John, Duke of Exeter d. 1447

¹ Anne Neville = Humphrey, first Duke of Buckingham d. 1460
² = Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy d. 1474

Humphrey = Margaret Beaufort, Katherine John, Earl of Joanna Henry, Lord Margaret Beaufort Anne ¹ = Aubrey
d. 1453 daughter of second || Wiltshire d. 1473 Stafford d. 1471 daughter of first de Vere
Duke of Somerset || || Duke of Somerset d. 1462
² = Thomas Lord Cobham
d. 1471

¹ d. 1509 Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond d. 1456
³ = Thomas, Lord Stanley Earl of Derby d. 1504

Anne

Henry VII

Edward, Earl of Wiltshire d. 1499

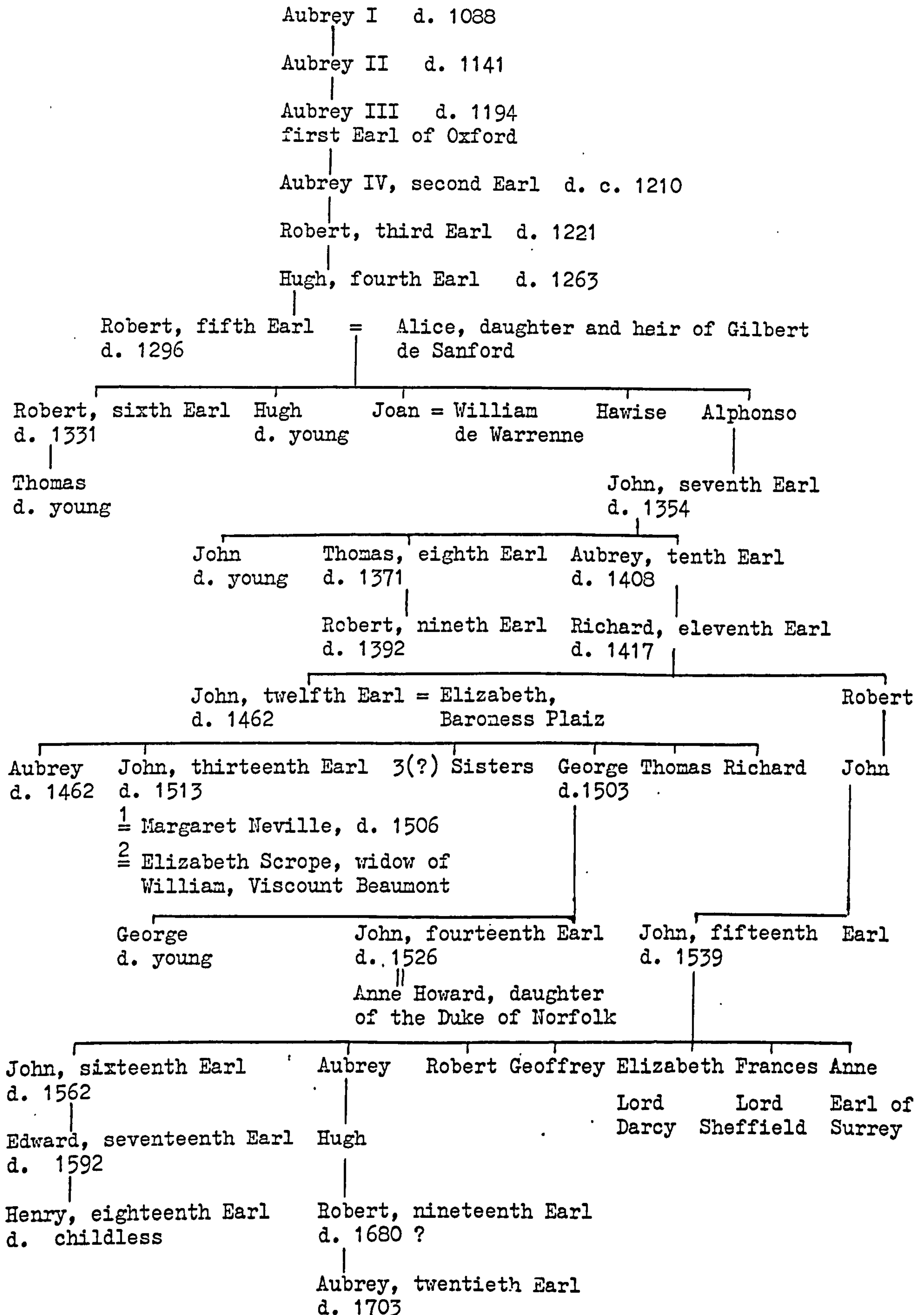
¹ Henry, second = Katherine Humphrey Duke d. 1483 Wydeville d. young d. 1497

² Jasper Tudor Duke of Bedford d. 1495

Edward, third Duke = Eleanor Percy Henry, Earl of Wiltshire Elizabeth = Robert Fitzwalter Anne ¹ = Sir Walter Herbert d. 1521 d. 1530 d. 1523 Earl of Essex d. 1507
² = Earl of Huntingdon d. 1544

Henry, Baron Stafford = Ursula Pole Mary = George, Lord Catherine = Ralph, Earl of Elizabeth = Thomas, Duke of d. 1563 Bergavenny Westmoreland Norfolk d. 1554

? 13 children

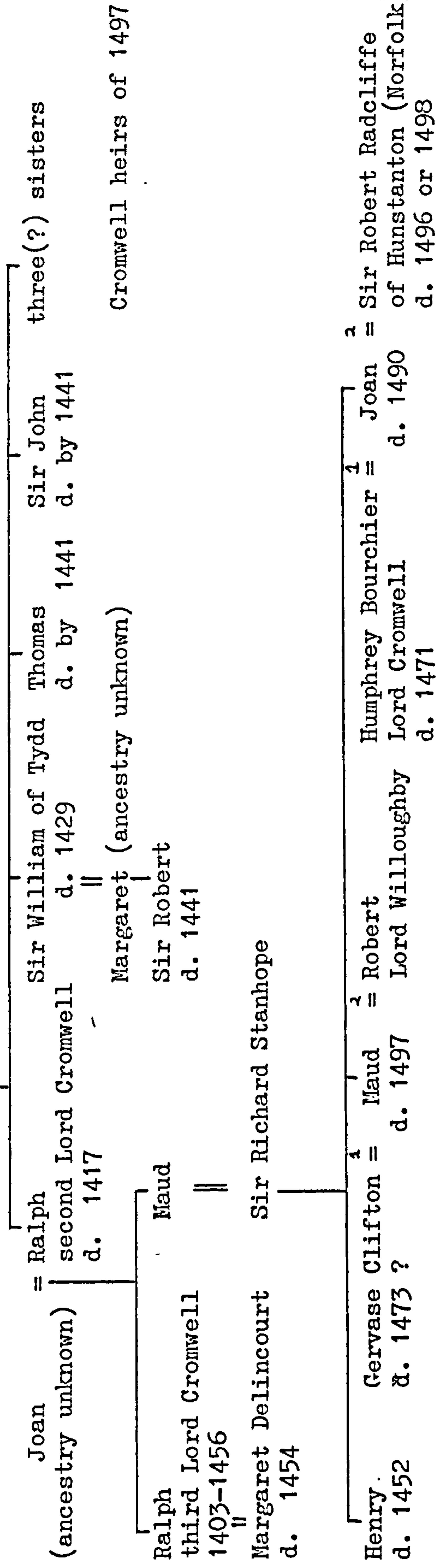
The de Veres

The Cromwells

Ralph de Cromwell of Cromwell, Notts.
d. 1289



Maud, daughter of John Bernake = Ralph de Cromwell (great-great-grandson of the above)
of Tattershall; d. 1419 first Lord Cromwell; d. 1398



Compiled from information in CP, CPR, CCR, CFR, DNB.

367

"Pernel" = Sir Andrew Luttrell I

Compiled from information in Maxvell-Lyte, Dunster; CPR, CCR, CFR; Burke's Landed Gentry; DNB.

The Stonors

Robert de Stanora fl. 1170
 Richard de Stanore fl. 1200
 Richard de Stanore fl. 1270
 Richard de Stonor fl. 1300

Sir John de Stonor = Maud Fitlewis
 d. 1354

Adam d. 1326

Sir John = Winard William Adam Henry Edmund Robert, Canon of Wells
 d. 1361 fl. 1347

Richard of
 Hurstmonceaux

Edmund = Margaret de Lisle
 d. 1382

Thomas, Parson of Westbridge
 fl. 1371

Edmund John Sir Ralph = Joan Belknap = Edmund Hampden Elizabeth
 d. young d. 1383 d. 1394 d. by 1425 d. 1420 d. young?

Gilbert Thomas Stonor = Alice Kirby = Richard Drayton
 d. 1396 d. 1431 d. 1468 d. 1468

Thomas = Joan or Jeanne d. 1494 John Alice = Humphrey Elizabeth = Thomas Maud Philippa Joan Anne
 d. 1474 ? daughter of William Forster or Isabel Sakevyle

Sir William = Elizabeth Ryche d. 1479 Thomas = Sybil Edmund Joan = John Mary = John Elizabeth or
 d. 1494 Agnes Wydeslade d. 1481 d. 1512 Breknok d. 1476 Cottessmore Barantyne Isabel

John = Mary Anne = Sir Adrian Sir Walter
 d. 1493 Fortescue d. 1518 Fortescue d. 1540

Compiled from information in SL & P, DNB,
CCR, CPR, CPR, Burkes Landed Gentry.

no issue the Lords Wentworth The present Stonors of Stonor

CHAPTER I.

1. CUP, 1965.
2. K.Wood-Legh did, however, talk about chapels as chantries in ecclesiastical households, in A Small Household of the Fifteenth Century: Being an Account of Munden's Chantry, Bridport (Manchester UP, 1956).
3. CUP, 1957.
4. Beriah Botfield, ed., Manners and Household Expenses in England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (Roxburghe Club, vol 57, 1841).
5. David Gurney, ed., "Extracts from the Household, and Privy Purse Accounts of the 1e Stranges of Hunstanton," in Archaeologia, vol. 25, 1834, pp. 411-569.
6. Paul V.B. Jones, The Household of A Tudor Nobleman (The University of Illinois Studies in Social Sciences, vol. 6, 1917) and C.A. Musgrave, "Household Administration in the Fourteenth Century," an unpublished M.A. thesis for London University, 1923 .
7. NY: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co. 1974.
8. Jones, pp. 1-22.
9. See especially Joel E. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 5-8. The urban patriciate have left numerous of their own householding records, two of the most accessible being Alison Hanham, ed., The Cely Letters (EETS vol. 273, 1975), and John Angers and Jean Vanes eds., The Ledger of John Smythe (London: HMC 1974).
10. Rosenthal, Purchase, p.7 for a lost of records on ecclesiastical households see Appendix D.
11. E. Carlton Williams, My Lord of Bedford (London: Longmans, 1963).
12. Rosenthal, Purchase, p.7.

13. COED, p. 1340 (421-422).
14. Kenneth Clarke, Civilization (NY: Harper and Row, 1973), p.1.
15. Carole Rawcliffe, The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham (CUP, 1979), pp 164-166.. (hereafter referred to as Rawcliffe).
16. Ibid.
17. See A.R. Myers, The Household of Edward IV (Manchester UP, 1959), pp 25-28, on the legal status of household ordinances and drafts of the same. (hereafter referred to as Myers).
18. NHB, 1770 edition. (see Abbreviations).
19. Richard Braithwait, Some Rules and Orders for the Government of the House of an Earle (Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana, vol. 8, 1821).
20. Society of Antiquaries, eds., A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations.... (London: John Nichols, 1790).
21. Jones, pp 10-12.
22. Rawcliffe, p 91.
23. Ibid. confirms this general statement with her observations on the Stafford Household, pp 69-71 and 86-93.
24. Mervin E. James, Family, Lineage and Civil Society (OCP, 1974) and Mervin E. James, Change and Continuity in the Tudor North (Borthwick Papers, vol 27, 1965).
25. Such as Laurence Stone, Sex, Marriage and the Family (OUP, 1978).
26. Laurence Marcellus Lawson, The King's Household in England Before the Norman Conquest (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1904), pp 120-123.
27. Ibid., pp 143-145.
28. Publius Cornelius Tacitus; H. Mattingley, ed., Tacitus on Britain and Germany (Penguin Books, 1948), pp 111-113.
29. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, Early Germanic Kingship (OCP, 1971), pp 1-21.

30. John R. Clark Hall and Herbert D. Merritt, A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (CUP, 1960), pp. 308 and 357. In this thesis the term "Householder" will be used to mean household member, not one who keeps a household.
31. Carson, chapters 2 and 7.
- × 32. Ibid., p. 125.
33. Richard Fitznigel; Charles C. Johnson, ed., The Course of the Exchequer and Constitutis Domus Regis (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1950). The latter is the earliest known royal household ordinance.
34. See the introduction to Dorothea Oschinsky's Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting (OCP, 1971) for a discussion on the reasons for document-survival.
35. Margaret Sharp, "A Fragmentary Household Account of John of Gaunt," in BIHR, vol. 13, 1936, pp 154-160.
36. Essex RO D/DPR 136.
37. The deWarrenne account is PRO E 101 505/17. The deVere account is Essex RO D/DPR 136. The Countess of Leicester's accounts are pr. in Botfield, and form the basis of Margaret Wade la Barge's book, A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1965).
38. Such as the fifth Earl of Oxford's clerk, Michael, who in Essex RO D/DPR 136 purveys as well as accounts.
39. Ibid.
40. Grace Stretton, "The Travelling Household in the Later Middle Ages," in Trans. Brit. Arch. Assn., vol 90, 1935, pp 88-89.
41. Ibid., pp 94-95.
42. See Appendix A., a list of known baronial household accounts.
43. PRO E 101 510/4.
44. PRO E 101 509/29

45. Staffs RO D 641/1/ 3/1
46. PRO E 101 510/14.
47. The first example is in the account of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, Hotts RO Foljambe VIII B/1/iii/5, dating 1299.
48. Such as Hamon le Strange's "Atte Dyches," of whom several, are indicated as relatives (a married couple, two brothers, a father and sons) in N/N RO NH 2-12.
49. N/N RO NH 12.
- 50 N/N RO NH 1.
51. Based on early household accounts listed in Appendix A, and corroborated by Wade la Barge, pp 8-9.
- × 52. W.B.D.D. Turnbull, ed., Compota Domestica Familiarum (Abbotsford Club, vol. 3, 1836). contains his household account for this year.
53. N/N RO NH 2-12.
54. PRO E 101 509/29.
55. N/N RO NH.2 and PRO DL 29/1/3.
56. See especially N/N RO NH 6-7.
- 57_ See Oschinsky, and also N. Denholm-Young, Seigneurial Administration in England in the Fourteenth Century (OUP, 1937).

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7. Rawcliffe, pp.9-15. G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility In Fourteenth-Century England (CUP, 1957), is also good on the early Stafford Earldom, pp.39-49.
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9. Ibid., p.19. Also B. Williams, ed., Henrica Quinti Angliae Regis Gesta (London, 1850), pp.144,279.
10. CPR 1416-1422, pp.308,383.
11. CPR 1422-1429, p.75.
12. NH.Nicholas, ed., Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council (London: Record Commission, 1843-1847), vol. 3 p. 143.
13. Rawcliffe, pp18-19. See also A.E. Goodman, The Legal Conspiracy: The Lords Appellant Under Richard II (London: Routledge, 1971).
14. Rawcliffe, p.20.
15. CPR 1429-1436, p.535.
16. CP II p.390
17. CPR 1430-1460, 3 vols.
18. See Rawcliffe's list of Stafford property, pp 191-194.
19. C.T. Allmand, "The Anglo-French Negotiations of 1436," in BIHR, vol. 40. 1967, pp 1-33.
20. Nicholas, Proceedings, vol V, p 203.
21. Rawcliffe, p.21.

22. CPR 1446-1452, p.331.
23. Rawcliffe, p.21.
24. See genealogical charts, Appendix E.
25. Rawcliffe, pp 21 and 24; " these attempts indicate how great was Duke Hemphrey's reputation abroad."
- 26 Ibid.
27. Ibid., p, 24.
28. James Gairdner, ed., The Paston Letters and Papers (London, 1904), vol I, Introduction p.133.
29. Rawcliffe, pp.24-25.
30. CCR 1451-1461, pp.49, 109.
31. Ibid., pp.109, 287.
32. Norman Davis, Paston Letters And Papers of the Fifteenth Century (OCP, 1971-1976), vol.2 p. 148.
33. Rawcliffe, p.25.
34. C.A.G. Armstrong, "Politics and the Battle of St. Albans (1455)," in BIHR, vol 33, 1960, pp.1-74, especially pp.66-68.
35. Rawcliffe, pp 23-25.
36. CPR 1452-1461, pp. 535, 548, 552,571.
37. CFR 1452-1461, p. 247.
38. Rawcliffe, p. 27; Armstrong, pp.66-68.
39. CPR 1461-1467, p.298.
40. Ibid.
41. CPR 1452-1461, p.593; CPR 1466-1476, pp. 72, 534, 554.
42. CPR 1466-1467, p.308.
43. CPR 1476-1485, p. 73.
44. CPR 1452-1461, p. 504.
45. Ibid., p.532.
46. Ibid., p.570.
47. Ibid., p. 520.

48. Ibid., p. 589.
49. CPR 1461-1467, p 530.
50. CPR 1466-1476, Commissions of Peace Appendix.
51. Ibid., p 70.
52. Ibid., p. 231.
53. CFR 1461-1471, p. 281.
54. CPR 1466-1476, p. 298, and CFR 1471-1485, no, 5.
55. CPR 1466-1476, p. 312.
56. Ibid., and CPR 1476-1485, Commissions of Peace Appendices.
57. Rawcliffe, p.28.
58. Ibid., pp. 28-32.
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60. Ibid., p.36.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. CPR 1494-1509, Commissions of Peace lists.
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65. Ibid., p. 620.
66. Ibid., p. 121.
67. CP II p. 390.
68. Rawcliffe, p. 93.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., p 100.
71. Ibid., p. 37.
72. R.Brown, ed., State Papers Venetian (London: HMSO, 1864-1869),
vol. III, no.1287.
73. L&P H VIII, vol III, no. 1283.
74. Rawcliffe, pp 42-44.
75. Andrew H. Anderson, "Henry Lord Stafford (1501-1563) in
Local and Central Government," in EHR, vol 78, 1963, p. 225.

- See also Rawcliffe, p. 183, and L&Ph VIII, vol, V no. 364.
76. L&PH VIII, vol, V, no. 1608.
77. CP XII, p. 183.
78. CPR 1548-1549, pp. 32, 75.
79. CPR 1550-1553, p. 18.
80. CPR. 1553-1554, p. 4. See also Anderson, pp 225-226.
81. Anderson, p. 18 and CPR 1557-1558, pp. 17, 254.
82. CPR 1558-1560, p. 439.
83. Ibid., p. 92.
84. CP XII pp. 184-186.
85. Anderson, p. 240.
86. CP XII, pp. 187-188.
87. Rawcliffe, pp 2-5; Anderson, pp 235-240.
88. Ibid.
89. Carole Rawcliffe is currently researching just such a work.
90. Some Account of the Family of De Vere (London: T. Smith and Son, 1904).
91. Ibid, p 6.
92. Queen Matilda, mother of Henry II, died at Castle Hedingham.
93. CP X, pp. 213-218.
94. Essex RO D/DFR 136.
95. CP X, pp 213-218; see also Appendix E.
96. Ibid.
97. Ashurst-Majendie, pp. 14-17.
98. CP X, pp. 227-232.
99. Ibid, pp. 233-236.
100. CCR 1422-1429, pp. 440-441.
101. Nicholas, Proceedings, vol IV, p. 101.

102. CPR 1429-1436, p. 611.
103. Nicholas, Proceedings, vol V, pp. 334-336.
104. CP X, p. 237.
105. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol I, introduction, pp 33 and 303.
106. CPR 1452-1461, p. 645.
107. CP X, p. 237.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid., pp. 239-240.
110. Ibid., p. 240.
111. CPR 1452-1461 and 1461-1467, Commissions of Peace Appendices.
112. CPR 1467-1477, p. 155.
113. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol V, no 736.
114. Ashurst-Majendie, p. 24.
115. CP X, pp. 240-241.
116. Ashurst-Majendie, p. 24.
117. CP X, p. 241.
118. Ibid., and Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol V, nos 832 and 833.
119. CP X pp 242-243 and Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol V, nos. 834-836.
120. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol VI, pp. 2-3.
121. CP X, p. 241.
122. CP X, pp, 242-243.
123. Ibid.
124. Ibid.
125. Ibid.
126. BL Add. ms. Chr. 989.
127. CP X, p. 242.

128. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol. VI, no 1072.
129. Ibid.
130. Ashurst-Majendie, p.23.
131. CPR, 1494-1509, p. 521.
132. CP X, p. 243.
133. H.W. Lewer, "The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth, Widow of John de Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford," in Trans. Essex Arch. Soc., vol 20, 1933, p.7.
134. CP X, p. 243.
135. Ibid, p. 244.
136. Published in Archaeologia, vol. 19, 1816, pp. 62-65.
137. CP X, p. 245.
138. L&P H VIII, vol I, pt, 1, p. 12, and pt. 2, nos 2053 and 2301..
139. CP X, p. 246.
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid.
142. CP X, pp. 246-247.
143. See Appendix E.
144. Quoted by Ashurst-Majendie, p. 37, from a letter of Gregory Cromwell to his father in 1536.
145. CP X, p. 248.
146. CP X, pp. 247-250.
147. Ibid.
148. See Bibliography, pt. I-A.
149. The Librarian of Magdalene College, Oxford, is now compiling a biography of Cromwell.
150. K.B. McFarlane, The Nobility of Later Mediaeval England (OCP, 1973), p. 50.

151. CP III. p. 551.
152. CPR 1381-1385; 1388-1392; 1391-1396; Commissions of Peace Appendices.
153. CP III, pp. 551-552.
154. CPR 1388-1392, p. 5.
155. CP III, p. 552.
156. CFR 1419-1422, p. 63.
157. CPR 1381-1385, p. 191; CFR 1437-1445, pp 250-251.
158. Kent RO Cat MK U475 A82 and A83.
159. CPR 1413-1419, p. 240.
160. Kent Ro Cat MK U475 A82.
161. CPR 1416-1422, pp. 122, 204, 435; CPR 1422-1420, pp 327, 566.
162. CPR 1416-1422, p. 204.
163. CPR 1422-1429, pp. 11, 206.
164. CPR 1429-1436, p. 294.
165. CPR 1422-1429, p. 327.
166. CFR 1422-1420, p. 235.
167. Ibid., pp. 265-266.
168. CCR 1435-1441, p. 116; CFR 1430-1437, p. 298.
169. CFR 1437-1445. pp. 196, 251.
170. Ibid., pp. 250-251.
171. CCR 1422-1429, p. 11.
173. CFR 1433-1430, p. 68.
174. CPR 1429-1436, p. 293.
175. CPR 1422-1429. p. 351.
176. Ibid., p. 404, and CPR 1429-1436, p. 235.
177. CPR. 1422-1429, p. 520.
178. Ibid., p. 78.
179. Ibid., p. 206.

180. Ibid., p. 172.
181. Ibid., p. 271.
182. Ibid., p. 327.
183. Ibid., p. 384.
184. CPR 1429-1436, p. 270.
185. CPR 1422-1429, p. 355.
186. CPR 1429-1436, p. 294.
187. J.L. Kirby, "The Issues of the Lancastrian Exchequer and Lord Cromwell's Estimates of 1433," in BIHR, vol, 24, 1951, pp. 121-152.
188. CPR 1429-1436, p. 522.
189. Ibid., p. 294.
190. Ibid., p. 365.
191. CPR 1436-1441, p.19.
192. Ibid., p. 147.
193. Ibid., p. 169.
194. CCR 1435-1441, p. 115.
195. CPR 1436-1441. p. 117.
196. CPR 1441-1446, p. 109.
197. CCR 1435-1441, p. 159.
198. CPR 1441-1446, p. 102.
199. CPR 1436-1441, pp. 73. 165.
200. Ibid., p. 86.
201. Ibid., pp. 189, 292.
202. Ibid., p. 200.
203. Ibid.,p. 371.
204. CPR 1441- 1446, pp. 49,60.
205. CFR 1437-1445, pp. 122, 251.

206. CPR. 1441-1446, p. 144.
207. Kirby, "Issues", pp. 150-152.
208. W. Dugdale Simpson, The Building Accounts of Tattershall Castle (Lincolnshire Record Society, vol. 55, 1935).
209. CPR 1441-1446, p. 68.
210. Ibid., p. 261.
211. CPR 1446- 1452, p.78.
212. CPR 1452-1461, p. 143.
213. Kent RO Cat MK U1475 1046, 1047.
214. CPR 1441-1446, p. 230.
215. Ibid., p. 139.
216. CCR 1447-1454. p. 16.
217. CFR 1445-1452, pp. 143,149.
218. CPR 1441-1446, p. 243.
219. CFR 1445-1452, pp. 11, 230.
220. CPR 1446-1452, Commissions of Peace Appendix.
221. CCR 1454-1461, p. 228.
222. CPR 1441-1446, p. 261; McFarlane, p. 182.
223. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol I, Introduction, pp. 59, 163.
224. Ibid, vol II, no. 249
225. Ibid., vol I, p, 163.
226. CPR . 1452-1461, pp. 104-107.
227. Ibid., p. 143.
228. CCR 1454-1461, pp. 87-88.
229. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol.III, *299.
230. CFR 1452-1461, p. 99.
231. See also Appendix E.
232. CPR 1452-1461, p. 210.

233. Kent RO Cat MK U1475 A88.
234. CPR 1461-1476, p. 41; CPR 1476-1477, pp 336, 337;
CPR 1476-1485, pp. 399-401.
235. CPR 1461-1476, p. 41.
236. Ibid., p. 216.
237. Ibid., pp. 619-621.
238. Ibid., pp 336, 354; CPR 1471-1485, pp. 164,410.
239. CPR 1461-1476, p. 336, and CPR 1476-1485, p. 393.
240. CPR 1461-1476, p. 14.
241. Ibid., p. 491.
242. CP III, pp. 553-554.
243. Ibid.
244. W. Dugdale Simpson, Building Accounts, p. 8.
245. DeLisle and Dudley Mss., HMC Report (London: HMSO, 1925),
vol. I, pp. 205-230.
246. See note 208, and W. Dugdale Simpson, "The Affinities
of Lord Cromwell's Tower-House at Tattershall," in Journal
Brit. Arch. Assn., vol. 90, 1935, pp. 177-192.
247. E.M. Myatt-Price, "The Cromwell Household Accounts,"
in Littleton and Yamey, ed., Studies In the History of
Accounting (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1956), pp. 99-113.
248. See note 187.
249. The Bassets, formerly of Tehidy (it was sold in 1915)
date back to Ralph Bassett, justiciar under Henry I. They held
Tehidy, in Cornwall, from 1262 (see Burkes' Landed Gentry, 1952).
250. H. M. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster and Its Lords (privately
pr., 1882). pp. 38-39.
251. Ibid., pp. 41-42.

252. He may possibly be Thomas' brother -- no positive evidence for either identification exists -- but the dating of later births makes him more likely to be a son. See Appendix E. At this point the Luttrell line is particularly difficult to disentangle; Sir John, and Hugh's grandfather, have been recently confused by Burkes' Landed Gentry.

253. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, p. 44.

254. Ibid., p. 45.

255. Ibid., p. 46.

256. Maxwell-Lyte explains the case in great detail, Ibid., pp 45-52.

257. Dun, Gaelic for fortress; Tor, Gaelic for an isolated hill.

258. See Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, pp. IX-XV, and James Savage, A History of the Hundred of Carhampton (Bristol: William Strong, 1830), pp. 377-535, for further descriptions of Dunster and environs.

259. CPR 1391-1396, p. 235.

260. Ibid., pp 321, 348.

261. CPR 1399-1401, pp. 385, 390.

262. CPR 1396-1399, p. 474.

263. Ibid., p. 620.

264. CCR 1396-1399, p. 154.

265. CPR 1399-1401, p. 413.

266. Ibid., p. 142.

267. Ibid., p. 271.

268. Ibid.

269. J.L. Kirby, ed. Calender of the Signet Letters of Henry IV and Henry V (London: HMSO, 1978). pp. 167, 350, 353.

270. CPR 1401-1405, p. 194.

271. Ibid.

272. R.L.Stevenson, ed., Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII (London HMSO, 1861), pp. 170, 177, 186, 194, 197, 202, 204.
273. CCR 1401-1405, p. 283.
274. CPR 1401-1405, p. 31.
275. Ibid., p. 62.
276. CCR 1401-1405. p. 82.
- 277 Kirby, Calendar, p. 517.
278. CPR 1401-1405, p. 351.
279. CCR 1401-1405, pp. 283, 350.
280. CPR 1405-1408, pp. 204-208.
281. Ibid., p. 448.
282. CCR 1408-1413, p. 318.
283. CPR 1413-1419, p. 148.
284. Ibid.
285. CPR 1413-1419, p. 209.
286. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, p. 49.
287. College of Arms ms. Vincent vol. 29, f. 55.
288. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, p. 49.
289. Ibid.
290. Ibid.
291. CPR 1416-1422, p. 385.
292. Ibid., p. 452.
293. Ibid., p. 417.
294. Ibid., p. 418.
295. CPR 1416-1422, and 1422-1429, Commissions of Peace Appendices.
296. CPR 1422-1429, 316.

297. Ibid., p. 354.
298. Ibid., p. 400.
299. CPR 1422-1429, p. 206.
300. SOM RO DD/L P37/7, 11.
301. CPR 1422-1429, p. 276.
302. Ibid., p. 363.
303. CFR 1422-1430, p. 224.
304. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, p. 49.
305. Ibid., p. 38.
306. Ibid., p. 54.
307. Ibid., also SOM RO DD/L P37/10, 11.
308. SOM RO DD/L P37/10 and CPR 1419-1421, p. 209.
309. CCR 1413-1419, p. 80.
310. Ibid.
311. CFR 1422-1430, p. 189.
312. SOM RO DD/L P37/11.
313. CFR 1422-1430, p. 276.
314. CPR 1429-1436, p. 464.
315. Ibid., pp. 86, 188, 284.
316. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, p. 133; CPR 1429-1436, p. 99.
317. CPR 1429-1436, p. 188.
318. For further details of the Luttrell family after 1401, see Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, pp. 140 et. seq.
319. See Bibliography, pt. I-A.
320. vols. 29(1) and 30(2), 1919, and Miscellany vol. 13, 1924(hereafter referred to as SL & P 1, 2 and 13).
321. SL & P 1, pp. VII-IVI.
322. Newport: R.H.Johns, 1951 (STONOR).

323. For more on the early Stonors, see SL & P 1, pp. VII-VII and Stonor, pp. 51-74.
324. SL & P 1 pp. VIII-XI and Stonor, pp. 74-95.
325. SL & P 1 pp. XI-XVI gives an exhaustive account of the Stonor holdings.
326. CPR 1362-1372, p. 57.
327. Ibid., p. 82.
328. CCR 1372-1381, p. 356.
329. PRO C 47 37/1/25.
330. SL & P 1, p. XVII.
331. CCR 1372-1381, p. 513.
332. CPR 1372-1381, p. 513.
- 333 Ibid., p. 204, and SL & P I, no. 18.
334. CCR 1372-1381, p. 466.
335. CPR 1372-1381, pp. 84 and 87.
336. Inquisitions Post Mortem (London: HMSO, 1870), 1372-1400, no. 21.
337. CPR 1381-1385, pp. 202-204.
338. Ibid., 1391-1396, p. 174.
339. Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1372-1400, no. 61.
340. CPR 1396-1399, pp. 176, 482.
341. Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1372-1400, no. 85.
342. CPR 1391-1396, p. 564, and CPR 1401-1405, pp. 355, 455.
343. SL & P 1, pp XIX - XX.
344. Ibid., p. 41.
345. CPR 1399-1401, p. 303.
346. Ibid., p. 568.
347. Ibid.

348. CPR 140 -1405, p. 51.
349. SL & P 1 , pp. XII-XIV.
350. PRO Ancient Deeds C. 1223; SL & P 1; nos. 41, 79, 82.
351. H.L.Gray, "Incomes from Land in 1436" in EHR, vol .49, 1934, pp. 607-630.
352. SL & P 1, no 54.
353. Ibid., nos 55, 56.
354. Ibid.
355. Ibid., no. 91.
356. CPR 1441-1446, p. 138.
357. SL & P 1, p. XXIII.
358. CPR 1446-1449, p. 297.
359. SL & P 1 , p. XXIII.
360. CPR 1461-1467, p. 389.
361. SL & P 1, nos 70,112.
362. Ibid., nos 82, 97
363. CPR 1461-1467, p. 570, and CPR 1467-1477, p. 625.
364. CPR 1467-1477, pp. 248-249, 285, 350.
365. SL & P 1, pp. XII-XIV.
366. CPR 1452-1461. p, 70.
367. Stonor, p. 144.
- 368 London: Harleian Society, nd. p. 143.
369. SL & P 1, no. 138.
370. Ibid., no. 139.
371. Ibid., 2, no 172.
372. Ibid., 1, no 139.
374. Ibid., nos. 97,118,127,128.
375. Ibid., no. 115.

376. Ibid., no. 124.
377. Ibid., 2, no 260.
378. Ibid., 1, no. 142.
379. for more information see Ibid., pp. xxvi-xxviii.
380. Ibid., 2, nos. 175,180.
381. Ibid., no 172.
382. Ibid., nos, 172, 217, 218, 249-251.
383. Ibid., no 180.
384. SL & P 1, p. XXX.
385. Ibid.
386. SL & P 2, no. 285.
387. Ibid., nos, 220, 247.
388. Ibid., nos, 238, 255, 278.
389. Ibid., no. 237.
390. CPR 1476-1485, Commissions of Peace Appendix.
391. SL & P 1, pp. XXX - XXXI.
392. Ibid., pp. XXXI-XXXII.
393. Ibid., 2. nos. 267, 268, 271, 294.
394. Ibid., nos. 305, 306.
395. Ibid., nos 321, 322.
396. CPR 1476-1485, pp. 289 and 354.
397. SL & P 2, nos. 313,319, 320.
398. Stonor, p. 198.
399. SL & P 1, p. xxxiii.
400. Ibid., 2, no. 333.
401. CPR 1476-1485, p. 433.
402. CPR 1485-1494, p. 205.
403. SL& P 1, p. xxxv.
404. Ibid.

405. Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1485-1509, p. 161.
406. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol. VI, p. 187.
407. CPR 1485-1494, p. 205.
408. Ibid., p. 281.
409. SL & P 1, p. xxxv.
410. CPR 1485-1494, p. 348.
411. Stonor, p. 203.
412. SL & P 1, p. xxxv.
413. CPR 1485-1494, p. 977.
414. SL & P 1. p. xxxv.
415. For a full account, see SL & P 1, pp. xxxv-xxxvii.
416. STATUTES OF THE REALM (HMSO 1807-1812), Vol III,
pp. 690-693, cap. 36.
417. SL & P 1, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.
418. Gray, "Incomes" p. 624.

Chapter III

1. BL Add MS Latin Egerton roll 2822, and BL Add ms 34, 213, and Staffs RO D1721/1/5.
2. Staffs RO D641/1/3/3.
3. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2209, BL Add ms roll 5962, or Staffs RO D641/1/38.
4. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2209.
5. for instance Kent RO Cat MK U1475 A90, or Westminster Diocesan Archives Sec. Ac. 10.
6. PRO C 47 37/7.
7. SOM RO D/DL P37/7.
8. Essex RO D/DPR 138-140.
9. Ibid.
10. Essex RO D/DPR 136.
11. Ibid., D/DPR 137.
12. Kent RO Cat MK U1475 A91.
13. SOM RO DD/L P37/11,12.
14. SOM RO DD/L P37/7, 15-17.
15. Compare the responsibility of the Steward in Staffs RO D 541/1/3/8 with that of the cofferer in D 641/1/3/7, both done for 1503-1504.
16. Myers, p. 160.
17. Soc. Ant., Collection of Ordinances, pp. 188-196.
18. See especially SOM RO DD/L P37/11,12 and 40-42.
19. Kent RO Cat MK U1475 A91.
20. BL Royal ms. 7f xiv ff 1-19, and PRO E 36 220, and Staffs RO D641/1/3/7.
21. T.F.Tout, Chapters in Mediaeval Administrative History (Manchester UP, 1930), vol. IV, pp. 223-227; Myers, pp. 25-26, 42-43.

22. PRO E101 91/1-27.
23. PRO E 101 518/5.
24. Rawcliffe, p. 195.
25. Ibid., pp. 72-73.
26. BL Add ms Egerton rolls 2208, 2209, and roll 5962.
27. Rawcliffe, p. 195, and PRO E 101 518/5.
28. Rawcliffe suggests this, pp. 34, 147, 133.
29. Ibid., p. 195.
30. Ibid.
31. BL Cotton Titus B i ff. 171-174.
32. PRO E101 518/5.
33. SOM RO DD/L P37/10, A-C; see also the inventory of the Paget chapel, in Greater London (Middlesex) RO, Acc. 446/H/1,2.
34. PRO E101 518/5; SOM RO DD/L P37/7; Warks RO CR E95/106.
35. PRO C 47 37/2 and 37/4/33-34.
36. The Luttrell Household, for instance, and also the Willoughby establishment, as Illustrated in Notts. University Library MIA 2-41.
37. in PRO C 47 37/1/25.
38. For a discussion of this question, see Denys Hay, Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (London: Longman, 1975). pp. 62-69.
39. COED, p. 1131.
40. George Cavendish; Richard Sylvester, ed., The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey (EETS, vol. 243, 1959), p. xx.
41. McFarlane, pp. 6-8.
42. BL Royal ms. 7f xiv ff 1-19.
42. See for instance the chequerrolls in PRO E 101 518/5 and SOM RO DD/L P 37/7; and the royal ordinances such as the

Liber Niger, in Myers, pp. 114-116.

44. PRO E 101 631/20.

J.H. Baxter and Charles Johnson, eds. Mediaeval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources (OUP, 1955), p. 447.

46. COED, p. 3585.

47. Myers, p. 70.

48. see, again PRO E 101 518/5 and SOM RO DD/L P37/7 for examples

49. Such as John Forster, valet of the cellar to the first Duke of Buchingham and his widow, from at least 1443 (BL Add ms Egerton roll 2208) to 1464 (BL Add ms Latin Egerton roll 2822).

50. COED, pp. 3856-3857.

51. section 2.

52. Sir John Fortescue; Charles Plummer, ed., The Governance of England (OCP, 1885), pp. 137-140; and also in Sir John Fortescue; S.B. Chrimes, ed., De Laudibus Legum Angliae (CUP, 1942) p. 69.

53. COED, p. 3857.

54. Ibid.

55. Master Fitzherbert; Walter W. Skeat, ed., The Book of Husbandry (London: English Dialect Society, 1882), p.5.

56. Such as the thirteenth Earl of Oxford's John Watson, a garcio in deVere's service from before 1490 (Soc. Ant. ms, 77) to at least 1513 (William H. St. John Hope., ed., "The Last Testament and Inventory of John deVere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford," in Archaeologia, vol 66, 1915, pp. 275-348.).

57. COED, p. 1212.

58. Ibid.

59. See SOM RO DD/L P 37/7, or PRO C47 37/3/24, for evidence of their wages.

60. Furnival, Babees Book, pp. xiv-xxv; also COED, 1290.
61. For instance Nicholas, gentleman-usher, and Edward de la Mare, henchman, servants to the Third Duke of Buckingham, both had two personal servants in 1517, as recorded in PRO E101 518/5.
62. See SOM RO DD/L P37/7. and Soc. Ant. ms. 77.
63. For example, John Lawson, kitchen-boy under Ralph Lord Cromwell in 1451 (Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A 90), and later valet of the kitchen under the aegis of the Radcliffes by 1475 (Kent RO Cat MK U1475 A92).
64. See note 63; also Rawcliffe's discussion of the Hextalls, pp. 72-73, and of William Wistowe, p. 71.
65. Fitznigel.
66. J.C. Jeaffreson, A Book About the Table (London: Hurst and Blackett, 2 vols., 1875), and Furniball, Babees Book, Introduction.
67. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
68. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82,83.
69. Ibid., A93.
70. Littleton and Yamey, eds., pp. 106,111.
71. Essex RO D/DPR 136.
72. Ibid., D/DPR 137.
73. Longleat ms. BPA 5949.
74. Hope, "Will of Thirteenth Earl of Oxford," pp. 316-322.
75. See especially BL Add ms Egerton roll 2209 and roll 5962.
76. Staffs RO D1721/1/5.
77. See for instance WAM 12181, 12182 and 12183.
78. SOM RO DD/L P37/7,11.
79. PRO C47 37/7.
80. Margaret Wood, The English Mediaeval House (London:

- Phoenix House, 1965), p. 248.
81. Ibid., pp. 250-251.
82. F.J. Furnivall, ed., "Stans Puer Ad Mensam", in The Book of Precedence, etc, (EETS, vol extra series no. 8, 1869), p. 64.
83. This system is described in NHB, section 10, p. 140.
84. The Ordinance of York of 1318 is pr, in T.F. Tout, The Place of Edward II in English History (Manchester UP, 1936); for the Marshal of the Hall, see pp. 259 and 279.
85. Staff RO D641/1/3/4.
86. BL Add ms 34, 213.
87. PRO E 101 631/20 and 518/5.
88. Longleat ms BPA 5949.
89. Ibid., also PRO E 101 518/5.
90. "The Boke of Nurture" in Furnivall, Babees Book, p. 1195.
91. PRO E 101 518/5.
92. Furnival, Babees Book, pp. 2012, et.seq.
93. Essex RO D/DPR 137; Soc. Ant. ms. 77; and PRO E 101 518/5.
94. PRO E 101 518/5.
- Wood, English Mediaeval House, pp. 189-207.
96. PRO E 36 220.
97. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82.
98. Ibid., A83.
99. Ibid.
100. WAM 5479**.
101. PRO C47 37/4/33,34.
102. SL & P, 1, pp. xlvii, no. 170.
103. SOM TO DD/L P 37/13.
104. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A83.

105. Essex RO D/DPR 137.
106. Hope, p. 316-318; Lewer, pp. 14-16; and Longleat ms BPA 5949.
107. Soc. Ant. ms 77.
108. Staffs RO d 641/1/3/4.
109. PRO E101 518/5.
110. NHB, section 10, p. 163, and Cavendish; Sylvester, ed., pp. xix-xx.
111. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A92.
112. See especially Soc. Ant ms 77, BL Add ms 40,009 a,b, and Staffs RO D 641/1/3/3,6.
113. BL Royal ms 14B xxxv A-F; PTO C 47 37/4/12-14.
114. PRO C 47 37/4/35,36 and 37/5/1.
115. Accounts for which are BL Royal mss 7f and 14B, and also PRO E 36 361/20.
116. Tout, Chapters, vol I, pp. 18-31.
117. SOM RO DD/L P37/7, 12.
118. Rawcliffe, pp. 93-95, 134-135.
119. See chapter IX, on religion in the household, for a further discussion of this question.
120. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
121. SL & P 1, p. xii.
122. Stonor, p. 135.
123. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, p. 53.
124. R.Allan Brown, Castle Rising (London: HMSO 1978), pp. 52-54.
125. Ashurst-Majendie, p.37.
126. see especially SOM RO DD/L P37/7, and Longleat ms. BPA 5949.
127. SL & P 1, p. xii.
128. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A91.

129. Ibid., A82,83.
130. NHB, p.66.
131. PRO E 101 518/5.
132. NHB, pp. 60-68.
133. PRO E 101 518/5.
134. Soc. Ant. ms. 77.
135. PRO E 101 518/5; Longleat ms. 6410; and NHB, p.68.
136. See also the Beauchamp year-roll for 1414-1415, BL Add ms 24,513; and the account of Eleanor de Mortfort, pr. in Botfield.
137. Fitznigel, p. lii.
138. Ibid., pp. 134-135.
139. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
140. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2209.
141. SOM RO DD/L P37/7, 10 A-C.
142. PRO E 101 518/5.
143. Soc. Ant ms 77; Kent RO Cat Mk V1475 A82, 83, 90,91.
144. Staffs RO D 641/1/5/4.
145. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/7,8.
146. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2209.
147. BL Add ms Latin Egerton roll 2822.
148. WAM 12188.
149. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/7,8.
150. Rawcliffe, p. 90.
151. PRO E 101 518/5.
152. PRO E 36 361/20.
153. BL Royal ms 7f xiv.
154. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
155. PRO E 101 518/5 and Soc Ant ms 77.

156. Kent R0 Cat Mk 1475 A90.

157. PRO E 101 518/5.

CHAPTER IV.

1. SOM RO DD/L P37/7, 10 A-G.
2. P.H. Reaney, A Dictionary of British Surnames (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), pp. xxxviii-xlii.
3. Rawcliffe gives a fairly complete guide to the Stafford maior domi, appencix 2, pp. 195-200.
4. SOM RO DD/L P37 and Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A 93.
5. See R. Scott-Moncrieff, Lady Grisell Baillie's Household Book, 1693-1733 (Edinburgh: Scottish Hist. Soc., 1911).
6. See Rhodes, Grosseteste, "ABC of Aristotle," etc. in Furnivall, Babees Book.
- 7..Rawcliffe, pp. 99, 106.
8. J. Payne Collier, Household Books of John Duke of Norfolk and Thomas Earl of Surrey (Roxburghe Club, vol, 61, 1844), pp. 504-507.
9. Soc. Ant. ms 77.
10. Essex RO D/DPR 137.
11. Ibid.
12. He is called Dominus in Kent RO Mk U1475 A91; see CCR 1422-1429 p. 280 for details of de Kyghley lands around Thedilthorpe, Lincs.
13. Rawcliffe, pp. 209-210; DNB, vol 16, pp. 277-281.
14. See Rawcliffe, Appendix 2, pp. 195-200; ,also PRO E 101 518/5 pt.1
15. Ibid.
16. McFarlane, pp. 107-108.
17. PRO E 101 518/5.
- 18.Collier, p. 519.

19. See, for instance, PRO C 47 37/3/24.
20. Rawcliffe, appendix D, pp. 232-242.
21. Ibid.
22. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A91, A92, A93.
23. SL & P, 1, pp. 108-109.
24. Rawcliffe, pp. 71-73.
25. Ibid.
26. See note 13.
27. Rawcliffe, pp. 42-43, 167; DNB, vol 11, pp. 338-341.
28. Taken from SOM RO DD/L P37/7-12.
29. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, pp. 428-443.
30. That is, show positive evidence of London origins, such as being called "de London" or entering stonor service from London.
31. SL & P, 1, pp. xxvii-xix, xlvi. Elizabeth Stonor oftern rode the sixty miles' journey in two days.
32. PRO E 36 220.
33. BL Cotton Titus B 1 ff 171-174.
34. PRO E 36 220.
35. PRO E 101 518/5 pt. 1.
36. Reaney, pp. xxvii-xxviii.
37. Ibid., p. 63.
38. PRO C 47 37/4/33-34.
- 38a CPR 1461-1476, p..405.
39. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol VI, nos. 1022, 1053, 1071 and 1072.
40. Davis, Paston Letters, vol I, pp. 128, 199, 205, 392.
41. SL & P, 1. pp. 108-109.
42. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.

43. Essex RO D/DPR 135A. 139. 140, 141.
44. Kent RO Mk U1475, A91, A92, A90.
45. Staffs RO D(W) 1721/1/5, listed frequently.
46. Rawcliffe, Appendix B, pp. 200-203.
47. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster. pp. 124-130.
48. Rawcliffe, p. 201; BL Add ms 34, 213.
49. Collier, pp. 493-520; Hope, pp. 275-348; Lewer, pp. 7-16.
50. Kent RO Cat Mk 1475 A90, A93.
51. SL & P, 1. no. 96; PRO C 47 37/3/28-33.
52. PRO C 47 37/3-4.
53. SOM RO DD/L P37/10,11,12.
54. PRO C 47 37/3/27-33.
55. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2208, WAM 5472, 31795.
56. Rawcliffe, appendix B, pp. 195-215.
57. From the three brothers in BL Add ms roll 5962 to Margaret, governess, in Staffs RO D(W) 1721/1/1, f. 390 v.
58. Essex RO D/DPR 138, 139, 140.
59. Several Ffoukes can be located in any Stafford account from 1454.
60. See Rawcliffe, p. 166, on their origins.
61. Staffs RO D(W) 1721/1/5.
62. Essex RO D/DPR 137, and also Hope, pp. 328, 330, 336.
63. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
64. Hope, p. 338.
65. SOM RO DD/L P37/7, 10, 11, 12.
66. McFarlane, pp. 109-111, discusses this problem more generally.
67. Rawcliffe, p. 90.
68. George Cavendish; Roger Lockyer, ed.; Cavendish's Life of Wolsey (London: Folio Club, 1962), pp. 10-11.

69. Collier, pp. 493-520; Essex RO D/DPR 135A 139.
70. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, pp. 114-126.
71. See Rawcliffe, Appendix B, pp. 195-210.
72. SL & P, 2, pp. 4-9. 49-65.
73. DeLisle and Dudley mss., volI p. 227.
74. Staffs RO D 1721/1/12, ff, 327-340.
75. Rawcliffe, pp. 71-73.
76. BL Add ms Latin Egerton roll 2822, BL Add ms 34, 213 and WAM 12181, 12182, 12184.
77. For his attitude to his servants see Rawcliffe, pp. 166-168.
78. For instance, see the de Vere inventory in Hope, pp. 340-348.
79. SOM RO DD/L P37/10-C.
80. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A93.
81. See SOM RO DD/L P37/7, PRO E 101 518/5, Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A93, Soc Ant ms 77.
82. Cavendish; Lockyer, ed., pp. 7-10.
83. Furnivall, Babees Book pp. xc-cii.
84. N.B. Harte, "State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England," in D.C. Coleman and A.H. John, Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England (London: Weiderfeld and Nicolson, 1976), pp. 132-165.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. SOM RO DD/L P37/7; Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A91, A92.
88. Collier, pp. 493-520; and Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol. IX no. 516.
89. Rawcliffe, pp. 165-166.

90. Ffoulkes was prosecuted in 1518 (Rawcliffe, p. 165), but was still in service in 1520 (E 36 220.)
91. Rawcliffe, pp. 165-166. He conducted numerous debtor inquiries and was wont to personally examine servants' accounts, as in PRO E 36 220.
92. SL & P, 2, no. 213.
93. A.S. Turberville, "The Protection of Servants of MPs," in EHR vol. 42, 1927, pp. 89-106.
94. SOM RO DD/L P37/7; 10 A,B,.
95. Furnivall, BabeesBook, pp. 115-120 especially, and Cavendish, Lockyer ed., pp. 7-9.
96. Kent RO Cat Mk U475 A91, A92.
97. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2208, roll 5962; and WAM 5472, 12187, and 31795.
98. WAM 12181-12184.
99. SOM RO DD/L P37/10. A-C.
100. Rawcliffe, pp. 200-203; BL Add ms roll 29,608.
101. BL Add ms roll 29,608, and Soc. Ant. ms 77.
102. Reaney, p. 107; Eilert Ekwall, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names (OCP, 1936), pp. 20, 485; Rawcliffe, p. 71.
103. See the accounts for "Young Francis" in BL Royal ms 14B xxxvD; and SL & P, 1, p. xlv.
104. H.G. Richardson, "An Oxford Teacher of the Fifteenth Century," in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol 23, 1939, pp. 436-457, and "Business Training in Mediaeval Oxford," in American Historical Review, vol 46, pp. 259-268.
105. Nicholas Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages (London:

Methuen, 1973), pp. 76-79.

106. SOM RO DD/L P37/7; 10, A.

107. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, pp. 122-124.

108. PRO E 101 518/5 and E 36 220.

109. BL Add ms roll 5962 and BL Add ms 34,213.

110. Rawcliffe, pp. 34, 147, 90, 153. Sackville, for instance, for instance, continued to receive an annuity from the Duke.

111. Hope, p. 337.

112. Collier, pp. 509-520; Hope, p. 336.

113. See the paraphrase of the Dukes' Trial in L & PH VIII, vol III, pt. 1, pp. 494-505.

114. Rawcliffe, p. 236 -- see John Hunte. Also cases are cited in R.A. Griffiths, "Public and Private Bureaucracies in England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century," in Trans. Royal Hist. Soc. 5th series, vol 30. 1980, pp. 114-115.

115. SL & P, 2, no. 195; Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A88 and A92.

116. Furnivall, Babees Book, pp. 511-520.

117. Lewer, pp. 332-339; Hope, pp. 14-16; Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A89.

118. Kent RO Cat Mk 1475 A92.

119. BL Add ms 29,608.

120. SOM RO DD/L P37/10, 11.

121. SOM RO DD/L P37/11.

122. Cavendish; Lockyer, ed., pp. 7-10.

CHAPTER V.

1. Rawcliffe, p. 5.
2. See McFarlane's discussion of this problem generally, pp. 129-136.
3. See I.R. Jack, The Grey of Ruthin Valor (Sidney: UP, 1965,) also the valor made for the first dowager Duchess of Buckingham for 1473-1474, BL. Add ms roll 29,608.
4. B.S. Yamey, "Some Topics in the History of Financial Accounting in England," in W.T. Baxter and Sidney Davidson, Studies in Accounting Theory (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1962), pp. 25-27.
5. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1963), pp. 161-162.
6. Ibid., p. 304, and Littleton and Yamey, eds., p. 103.
7. PRO C 47 37/4/33, 34.
8. Lady Caroline Kerrison and Lucy Toulmin Smith, eds., A Commonplace Book of the Fifteenth Century (London: Trubner, 1886).
9. PRO C 47 37/4/28 and /4/12-14.
10. See above; also Staffs RO D(W) 1721/1/2.
11. Longleat ms BPA 5949.
12. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82, A90, 91.
13. SOM RO DD/L P37/7, 9. 10 A-B.
14. BL Royal ms 14B XXXV D.
15. SOM RO DD/L P37/9:
16. BL Add ms roll 40,009 a.b. and Soc. Ant. ms 77.
17. PRO C 47 37/4/33-34, /7/66 (SL & P 2, no. 345), /18/21 and /5/1-9.

18. BL Royal ms 14B XXXV A 1-5, 8-12.
19. BL Royal ms 14B XXXV C.
20. BL Royal ms 7f X1V and 14B XXXV A6.
21. Littleton and Yamey, pp. 106. 111.
22. Staffs RO D (W) 1721/1/2.
23. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82, 83.
24. PRO E 36 220, BL Add ms Latin Egerton roll 2822.
25. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A91, BL Add ms Egerton roll 2208, Longleat ms BPA 5949.
26. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2209 and E 101 631/20.
27. WAM 12190, 5479**.
28. Soc Ant ms 77.
29. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A91.
30. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/4.
31. Soc Ant ms 77.
32. PRO E 101 361/1.
33. See Appendix A-I.
34. PRO C 47 37/1/25.
35. N/N RO NH 1.
36. SOM RO DD/L P37/7, 9, and 12.
37. WAM 12181, 12182.
38. PRO C 47 37/4/33-34.
39. BL Add ms 34,213.
40. see note 38.
41. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2209, roll 5962.
42. See note 39.
43. Staffs RO D 1721/1/5.
44. WAM 12181-12189, 22911, 31795.

45. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A92.
46. See Rawcliffe, pp. 96-97 and 128-129, for her influence over him.
47. Essex RO D/DPR 136.
48. Botfield.
49. See note 41.
50. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A90, 91.
51. Ibid., A93.
52. WAM 12185.
53. WAM 12182-12184.
54. Essex RO D/DPR 136, and BL Add ms Egerton roll 2208.
55. See Appendix A-I.
56. PRO E 36 220.
57. Longleat ms BPA 5949.
58. BL Add ms 34,213 and Staffs RO D1721/1/5.
59. SOM RO DD/L P37/11-12, and Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82 and A83.
60. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
61. PRO C 47 37/1/26, /3/21, 25
62. WAM 22911.
63. BL Royal ms 14B XXXV B-D.
64. PRO D L 28/1/91/8-10.
65. Salop RO BOX 85, Bridgewater Collection, SR 0212:1.
66. See Appendix A-I.
67. Pugh, Marcher Lordships, pp. 161-162, 164.
68. Ibid.
69. SOM RO DD/L P37/10 B-C.
70. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/6.

71. SOM RO DD/L P37/9.
72. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A90.
73. PRO E 36 220, E 101 631/20, E 101 518/5.
74. PRO E 101 518/5 and Longleat ms 6410.
75. Staffs RO D 6-11/1/3/7, 9.
76. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A90.
77. Soc. Ant. ms 77, Essex RO D/DPR 137.
78. Staffs RO D641/1/3/8.
79. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A91.
80. Staggs RO D641/1/3/11, 12, and D(W) 1721/1/2.
81. BL Royal ms 14B XXXV B-D.
82. Essex RO D/DPR 7-12; PRO E 101 510/4; PRO DL 28/1-10;
Leeds RO Mexborough Collection: Manorial Records Thorner
Accounts: 9, Salop RO BOX 85 Bridgewater Collection SR 0212:1,2.
83. See Bibliography, pt I-A, for references..
84. Essex RO D/DPR 137.
85. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/ /.
86. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2209.
87. Compare SOM RO DD/L P37/7 with P37/10 A-C.

CHAPTER VI.

1. See the following for more detailed presentations of landholding history and estate administration: Holmes; N.Denholm-Young, Seignorial Estate Administration in England (OUP, 1937); A.E. Levett, Studies in Manorial History (OUP, 1958); J.M.W. Bean, The Estates of the Percy Family (OUP, 1958); Michael Altschul, A Baronial Family in Mediaeval England: The Clares 1217-1314 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1965); McFarlane.
2. For ale, fish and wine see SOM RO DD/L P37/7; for grains see Ibid., P37/11; for rabbits and pigeons, see Ibid., P37/10, A-C.
3. The deVere vineyard was in Castle Hedingham, Essex RO D/DPR 137. 34 gallons were made, against 3,360 purchased.
4. This is evident in PRO C 47 37/2 (SL & P 1 n. 55), and in Ibid., 37/7 (see SL & P 2, no 233, for a summary).
5. See note 1, and bibliography.
6. SOM RO DD/L P37/11,12 are his household accounts; his accounts as bailiff are in Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, pp. 114-133.
7. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2822.
8. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82 and A83.
9. Robert Ryvers, as Steward of the household, obviously lived in Dunster; his forerunner Thomas Hody appears to have done the same judging by his accounts for 1416 to 1420, in Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, pp. 76-79.
10. They composed accounts there and had rooms in the castle: see Essex RO D/DPR 138, 139, 140.
11. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82.
12. Rawcliffe, pp. 54-58, 90.
13. Accounts survive for his private purse: BL Royal Ms, 7f xiv,

- ff1-19; Royal ms. 14 BXXXV A and D.
14. See especially Staffs RO D 641/1/3/4 and Rawcliffe, p. 61.
15. PRO C 47 37/3/37-43.
16. SL & P, 1, no. 223.
17. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, pp. 50, 122.
18. See the account of his secretary, Staffs RO D 641/1/3/6, in which the Duke received 64s 8d ob "de incrementa" from John Passans, a Flemish merchant.
19. See the letters of Oxbridge, Howlake and Henham calendared in SL & P 2.
20. CP X, p. 335.
21. Rawcliffe, pp. 110-112.
22. See the account of his undersheriff, SL & P 1, no. 52, PRO C 47 37/1/39.
23. See especially SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
24. PRO C 47 37/18/27.
25. Longleat ms. BPA 5949. Gifts are catalogued seperately on each daily entry.
26. BL Royal ms 7f XIV f.18. The Duke in this year owed Suffolk 511i 16s 18d from "playing at dices."
27. BL Royal ms 14B XXXV D. The Duke pawned a gold chain, a silver belt, and plate borrowed from the Archbishop of Canterbury; See also this account for loans raised by Gilbert.
28. SOM RO DD/L P37/10, A-C; 11; 12.
29. BL Add ms 29,608.
30. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82, A83.
31. Ibid., A90, A91.
32. BL Add ms roll 5962; see also Turnbull, Compota, pp. 4-8.

The charge in this account shows that of a total of 337li 6s received, 250li 2s 7d was gotten from the receiver-general in return for specific bills of payment.

33. See BL Add ms 40,009a,b; Essex RO D/DPR 138, 140, 135A, 141, 142.
34. PRO E 36 220.
35. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, pp. 114-133.
36. Turnbull, Compota, p. 6.
37. Essex RO D/DPR 137.
38. E. Carus-Wilson, "The Overseas Trade in Bristol," in E. Power and M. Postan, eds., English Trade in the Fifteenth Century (OUP, 1933).
39. Turnbull, Compota, p. 8.
40. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
41. SOM RO DD/L P37/11.
42. See notes 4 and 41.
43. See note 5.
44. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A91.
45. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, p. 4.
46. Ashurst-Majendie, p. 95.
47. See, for instance, BL Add ms Egerton roll 2209.
48. For details of these farms see Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82, A83 for the Cromwells; for the Stonors, PRO C 47 37/4/33-34 and /3/26,27; for Henry Baron Stafford, Staffs RO D 1721/1/12, especially ff. 370-382.
49. SOM RO DD/L P37/11,12 and Essex RO D/DPR 137.
50. Rawcliffe, pp. 54-58.
51. See for instance the accounts of his secretary for 1502-1507

(Staffs RO D 641/1/3/6,) who received 5, 895li 17s qua from the receiver, expending only 1,965li 5s 4d.

52. See notes 23-26.

53. See note 18.

54. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A90. J.E. Thorold Rogers in A History of Agriculture and Prices (OUP, 1882) vol III, gives 3s as the median price in that year and decade; 6s 8d is the median price for a boar.

55. Turnbull, p. 11.

56. SOM RO DD/L P37/11.

57. SOM RO DD/L P37/10,C.

58. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.

59. Kent Ro Cat Mk U1475 A92 and Staffs RO D 641/1/3/4.

60. Maxwell-Lyte, A History of Dunster, (London: Nichols, 1909), vol. II, p. 309.

62. SOM RO DD/L P37/10 -C, and Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A88.

63. SOM RO DD/L P37/11.

64. Lorna Sass, ed., To the King's Taste (Richard II's Book of Feasts and Recipes), (London: John Murray, 1975), pp. 58-60.

65. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A91.

66. The average of sales listed in SOM RO DD/: P37/10,11.

67. Turnbull, Compota, p. 23.

68. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A91.

69. Essex RO D/DPR 137.

70. SOM RO DD/L P37/10,A-C.

71. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A 91.

72. Thorold Rogers, vol. III, p. 289, for 1445-1452.

73. SOM RO DD/L P37/11, and Turnbull, Compota, p. 32. Compare with Thorold-Rogers, vol.III, who gives 2d as the average price of one pound of tallow in 1429, and in 1443-1444, as 1½d.

74. SOM RO DD/L P37/10, A, and PRO C 47 37/7.
75. Henry Whitefeld, who sold cows, received 53s 4d per annum, a gentleman's wage (his name is also that of a local gentle family) in Staffs RO D 641/1/3/4; John de Kyghley, chaplain, sold stock for Margaret and William Cromwell in 1417 and 1420; see Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82, A83.
76. BL Add mss 29,608 and 34,213.
77. WAM 12183; Soc Ant ms 77; C 47 37/7; SOM RO DD/L P37/7,13-15.
78. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2208; Soc Ant ms 77.
79. Rawcliffe, pp. 65-68.
80. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A92.
81. Ibid., A82, A83.
82. Ibid., A82.
83. Ibid., A83.
84. Ibid., A84, A83.
85. See Appendix B.
86. SOM RO DD/L P37/10-A.
87. Ibid...Wages that year are listed as totalling 131l 6s 8d.

CHAPTER VII.

1. J.D. Mackie, The Earlier Tudors (OUP, 1952), p. 4.
2. Jeaffreson, vol I, p. 131. He does not give his sources, nor a date or name for this Archbishop.
3. Sidney Anglo, Spectacle, Pageantry and Tudor Policy (OUP, 1969).
4. Quoted by Jan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (Penguin Books, 1979), p. 39.
5. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82.
6. Rawcliffe, p.88.
7. McFarlane, pp. 177-187; Holmes, pp. 109-121.
8. Myers, pp. 89-90.
9. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/8.
10. See chapter VI, Income, for details.
11. SOM RO DD/L P37/9.
12. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A92.
13. "The Percies: Estate Management, Officers; etc.," in Archaeologia, VOL. 27, 1838, p. 85.
14. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
15. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82, A83.
16. PRO C 47 37/7.
17. For references and details see chapter III, or Household Organization.
18. BL Add ms 29,608.
19. SOM RO DD/L P37/7, and Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, p. 114.
20. Maxwell-Lyte, p. 114.
21. Ibid., pp. 121-123, Essex RO D/DPR 138, BL Add ms roll 3962, and Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A91.

22. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
23. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A92.
24. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
25. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A92.
26. PRO C 47 37/2; SL & P, 1, no. 55.
27. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
28. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82, A83.
29. Staffs RO D 1721/1/5.
30. BL Add ms 34,213.
31. Staffs RO d 1721/1/5.
32. Staffs RO D 1721/1/5, BL Add ms 34, 213 and WAM 12181.
33. PRO C 47 37/7.
34. Simpson, "Affinities".
35. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/8.
36. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
37. PRO C 47 37/3/37-43; /7; /18/27; /5/9, 11, 31.
38. See especially WAM 12181, 12182, 12189.
39. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
40. Myers, p.1.
41. Lawrence Stone, An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino (OUP, 1956), pp. 33-37.
42. See bibliography for publication details.
43. NHB, pp. 4-11.
44. Nutrition (Washington, D.C.: US Dept of Agriculture, 1971), pp. 12-13.
45. Ibid., p. 3.
46. S.C. Carpenter, The Church in England (London: John Murray, 1954), pp. 177, 259.

47. BL Add ms 34, 213 and Staffs RO D 1712/2/6.
48. See especially PRO C 47 37/2; /3/26-27; /7.
49. William Langland; Rachel Attwater, ed., The Book Concerning Piers the Plowman (London; Everyman, 1957), p. 49; Furnivall, ed., Babees Book, pp. li, 122.
50. Furnivall, ed.; Babees Book, pp. 122-123.
51. Huntingdon RO MS DDM 64, ff. 59-60.
52. See especially PRO C 47 37/4/35.
53. Essex RO D/DPR 137.
54. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
55. H.S. Corran, A History of Brewing (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1975), pp. 50-53.
56. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, p.4; Ashurst-Majendie, pp. 95-96; Longleat ms. BPA 5949.
57. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/8.
58. BL Royal ms 7f, XIV, ff 1-19.
59. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
60. See Appendix B.
61. Ibid.
62. See especially SOM RO DD/L P37/7 and Staffs RO D 641/1/3/8.
63. SOM RO DD/L P37/7; PRO C 47 37/4/12, 14; PRO E 101 91/11-27.
64. See for instance SOM RO DD/L P37/7, Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82 and A83, Soc Ant ms 77, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust RO DR 3/731/a,b and Longleat ms, 6410.
65. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
66. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82.
67. See especially SOM RO DD/L P37/7, Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A93, and Staffs RO D 1721/1/5.

68. For example, Essex RO D/DPR 137.
69. BL Add ms roll 3962.
- 70 BL Add ms Egerton roll 2208, 2209, roll 5962; and Staffs RO D 641/1/3/4.
71. See for instance Longleat ms 6410; PRO E 101 518/5; Essex RO D/DPR 137; and SOM RO DD/: P37/7.
72. PRO C 47 37/1/26, /3/25, /5/9. 11. 31. and SL & P 2, no. 235.
73. See Appendix B.
74. Ibid.
75. J.J.Jusserand, English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages (London: Ernest Benn, 1950), pp. 41-42.
76. Savage, pp. 1-4.
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78. See especially Staffs RO D 641/1/3/4 and /1/3/8.
79. SOM RO DD/: P37/7, 10A-C.
80. Longleat ms BPA 5949.
81. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2209.
82. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
83. BL Add ms roll 5962.
84. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
85. See especially PRO C 47 37/4/35 and /18/21.
86. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A90, 91, 92.
87. PRO E 101 518/5, pt 2. No indication of which London markets were used, is given.
88. Cely Letters, nos 31, 40, 42, 55, 83, 123.
89. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
90. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82.
91. Soc Ant ms 77.

92. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/7.
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94. SL & P 1 no. 167; and 2, no. 222.
95. PRO E 36/220.
96. BL Royal ms 14B XXIV A 1 and PRO E 36 220.
97. See Hawe's translation in Stretton, "Travelling Household," pp. 94-95.
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100. Ibid.
101. Rawcliffe, p. 86.
102. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, p. 92; Rawcliffe, pp. 64-65; Ashurst-Majendie, p. 102.
103. BL Royal ms 14B XXXV D.

CHAPTER VIII.

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2. BL Cotton Titus B 1, ff. 171-174.
3. SL & P, 1, no. 117.
4. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
5. BL Royal ms 14 B XXXV D.
6. Essex RO D/DPR 137.
7. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
8. PRO C 47 37/1/25.
9. Staffs RO D (W) 1721/1/5.
10. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
11. Ibid., DD/L P37/15.
12. Ibid., DD/L P37/10, A-C; 15.
13. Essex RO D/DPR 137 and Soc Ant ms 77.
14. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2208.
15. Mary C. Hill, The King's Messengers (London: Edward Arnold, 1961).
16. Cavendish; Sylvester, ed., pp. 54-56.
17. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol VI, no. 1070.
18. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A83 and SOM RO DD/L P37/7, 13-17.
19. PRO C 47 37/3/21 and /9/41.
20. SL & P 1, no. 105.
21. See note 18.
22. BL Cotton Titus B i, ff 171-174.
23. See note 18.
24. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
25. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82, A83.
26. Published in A.E. Levett, pp. 21-41.

27. Ibid., p. 40.
28. Rawcliffe, Pugh, Altschul, Somerville, Maddicott, Rosenthal; see Bibliography, and note 29.
29. R. Somerville, "The Duchy of Lancaster Council and Court of Duchy Chamber," in Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., 4th series, vol. 23, 1941, p. 164.
30. See R. Virgoe, "The Composition of the King's Council, 1437-1461," in BIHR, vol. 43, 1970; also D.E. Hoak, The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI, (CUP, 1976).
31. Somerville, pp. 165-166; NHB, p. 49.
32. NHB , pp. 49, 50, 252-254.
33. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/4, BL Add ms Egerton roll 2208, and BL Add ms roll 5962.
34. SOM RO DD/L P37/7; 10, A-C.
35. Levett, p. 24; Joel Rosenthal, Nobles and the Noble Life (London: Allen and Unwin, 1976), pp. 77-78; SR, II, 74-75 (1390) and Ibid, II, 426-428 (1761).
36. Rosenthal, Nobles, p. 77.
37. Ibid.
38. Rawcliffe, pp. 146-147.
39. Ibid., p. 148.
40. See Ibid., appendix C.
41. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
42. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, pp. 118-119.
43. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82, A83.
44. Ibid., A83.
45. Essex RO D/DPR 138 and Soc Ant 77.
46. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/4 and BL Add ms Egerton roll 2209.

47. Rawcliffe, pp. 223-224.
48. Gairdner, Paston Letters, no. 736.
49. Nicholas Harris Nicholas, "Instructions given by Henry VIII to his Usher John Bicket and Sewer John Wrothe of the chamber in their Inquiries about William Kendall," in Archaeologia, vol. 22, 1829, pp. 20-25.
50. SL & P, 2, no. 263, and PRO C 47 37/7.
51. SL & P, 2 no 180
52. J.R. Lander, "Council, Administration and Councillors, 1461-1485," in BIHR, vol. 32, 1959, pp. 138-180.
53. Staffs RO D (W) 1721/1/5.
54. L & P H VIII, vol. III, pt. 1, no 1284, p. 494.
55. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/9.
56. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, 1415-1436: Select Documents (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1963), pp. 290,295.
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59. Pugh, Marcher Lordships, pp. 262-275.
60. Ibid., pp. 70-73.
61. Rawcliffe, pp. 147-149.
62. Ibid., p. 148, and NHB,p. 15.
63. L & P Henry VIII, vol. III, pt. 1, no. 1284, p. 494.
64. R.I. Jack, The Grey of Ruthin Valor (Sydney: UP, 1965).
65. Rot. Parl., vol III, pl 285.
66. Somerville, p. 169; Pugh, Marcher Lordships, pp. 207-213; Rawcliffe, p. 149.; Holmes,pp. 75-78.
67. See McFarlane, pp. 214-216.
68. Levett, p. 25.

69. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
70. Ibid., P37/15.
71. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82.
72. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A83.
73. Rawcliffe, pp. 153-154.
74. I have been unable to determine the modern name of this town; it is somewhere in Somerset or Devon.
75. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
76. SOM RO DD/L P37/11, 12.
77. Pugh, Marcher Lordships, pp. 262-275, and L & P Henry VIII, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 494.
78. A.E. Goodman, A History of England from Edward II to James I (London: Longmans, 1977), pp. 93-98; Lander, "Council," pp. 142-151.
79. Pugh, Marcher Lordships, pp. 262-267, 290.
80. Rosenthal, Nobles, p. 77, and Holmes, p. 75; no date is given in either.
81. Rawcliffe, p. 162.
82. Pugh, Marcher Lordships, p. 263.
83. Altschul, pp. 234-236.
84. Pugh, Marcher Lordships, p. 156.
85. McFarlane, p. 214; Rawcliffe, pp. 144-145.
86. NHB, p. 15.
87. SL & P, 2, no. 263.
88. Soc. Ant. ms 77; Essex RO D/DPR 138, 139, 140.
89. Somerville, p. 170.
90. See for example Lewer, pp. 7-16; Hope, pp. 275-320; and Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A86.
91. Rawcliffe, p. 153; SL & P, 1, pp. XVIII-XXI.

92. Rawcliffe, pp. 156-157.
93. Altschul, pp. 234-236.
94. Levett, pp. 153-159.
95. Somerville, pp. 165-166.
96. H.G. Richerdson, "John of Gaunt and the Parliamentary Representation of Lancashire," in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol. 22, 1938, pp. 175-222.
97. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol. V, no. 723.
98. Rawcliffe, pp. 147-148.
99. John Fortescue, The Governance, p. 145.
100. Reginald Pecock, The Repressor of Over-Much Blaming of the Clergy (Rolls Series, vol 19, pt. 2, 1868), p. 306.
101. Rosenthal, Nobles, p. 77.
102. SL & P 1, no. 30: "I will not be overmastered by one of my feed men."
103. Rosenthal, Nobles, p. 77; from a 15th century verse.
104. See especially Sidney Anglo, Spectacle; also Richard Vaughan's works on Burgundy and its lords (see Bibliography) and Joseph Calmette, The Golden Age of Burgundy (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962).
105. See Marcell Mauss, The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), especially chapter II, "Distribution of the System: Generosity, Honour and Money," pp. 17-46.
106. PRO E 36 220; BL Royal ms 14B XXXV A 1-12, and Royal ms 14B XXXV B-D.
107. Essex RO D/DPR 139. The Story claiming that Henry VII repaid his hospitality by fining the Earl for illegal retaining is unsubstantiated.
108. SOM RO DD/L P37/10,B.

109. PRO E 36 220.
110. For more on this topic, see SR I, (1327), SR II 74-75 (1390), SR II 426-428 (1416); McFarlane, pp. 102-122; and the work of N.B. Lewis and W.H. Dunham Jr. (see Bibliography).
111. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol. V, nos. 736, 759, 769, 770, 775.
112. Cavendish; Sylvester, ed., pp. 18-23.
113. PRO E 101 518/5, pt. 1.
114. NHB, p. 49 ff.
115. Rawcliffe, p. 100.
116. See for instance Staffs RO D(W) 1721/1/5.
117. PRO C 47 37/1/25.
118. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
119. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol. III, pp. 123, 334; and SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
120. Staffs RO D(W) 1721/1/5.
121. Turberville, "Protection."
122. Davis, Paston Letters, vol. 1, pp. 340, 344-345, 401-405, 407.
123. Ibid., vol.1, pp. 51-58, 225-234; vol. 2, pp. 28-30, 39-45, 79-80.
124. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 51-58.
125. SL & P, 2, no. 179.
126. SL & P, 2, no. 182.
127. Ibid.
128. Ibid., 2, no. 190.
129. Ibid.
130. see Turberville, "Protection."
131. See Rawcliffe, ch. 9, pp. 182-190; SL & P, 1, nos. 105, 115; PRO C 47 37/3/21 and /9/41; Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol. VI, no. 970.
132. See Lander, "Council."

133. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
134. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol V, nos. 769, 775, 833, 876.
- 135..Rawcliffe, pp. 33-35.
136. Soc. Ant. ms 77.
137. BL Add ms Egerton roll 2208.
138. SOM RO DD/L P37/13-18.
139. Ibid.
140. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A82, A83.
141. BL Cotton Titus B i, ff. 171-174.
142. Soc. Ant. ms 77.
143. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol. II, nos. 123, 124, 173, 238, 239, 240.
144. Rawcliffe, pp. 7-72, 81.
145. Ibid., pp. 81-82; see also Richardson, "John of Gaunt, " pp. 175-222.
146. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol. VI, nos. 1022, 1049, 1053, 1071, 1072.
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148. Cavendish; Lockyer, ed., p. 8.
149. L & P Henry VIII, vol. III, pt. 1, pp. 490-520.
150. Gairdner, Paston Letters, vol. V, no. 775.
151. CPR 1452-1461, pp. 104-106.
152. Rawcliffe, p. 35.

CHAPTER IX,

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2. Longleat ms 457.
3. IHB, pp. 332-323; Soc. Ant, A Collection of Ordinances Regulations, passim, and Furnivall, Babees Book, passim.
4. Lucy Maynard Salmon, Domestic Service (NY: MacMillan, 1901).
5. Kerrison and Smith, eds., pp. 10-12.
6. CPR 1368-1372, p. 290. See also Stonor, p. 38.
7. Stonor, p. 59.
8. See for instance Hope, pp. 300-348; Lower, pp. 7-16; Greater London (Middlesex) RO Acc. 446/H 1, 2, 12; Essex RO D/DP A 1-4.
9. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, pp. 1-10 and diagram 1.
10. Stonor, p. 38.
11. Ashurst-Majendie. p. 94.
12. See chapter III.
13. Wood, English Mediaeval House, pp. 208-227.
14. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
15. SOM RO DD/L P37/10-A.
16. SL & P 2, no. 352.
- 17.. Ashurst-Majendie, p. 94.
18. See Rawcliffe, Introduction.
19. See especially Hope, pp. 320-333.
20. SOM RO DD/L P37/15.
21. See Chapter IV for biographical details.
22. Stewards, respectively, to John de Vere thirteenth Earl of Oxford and Anne, dowager Duchess of Buckingham.

23. For Draper, see Chapter IV and SOM RO DD/L F37/10, A-C; 11.
24. Stonor, p. 88.
25. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster, pp. 112-114.
26. See especially Essex RO D/DPR 137; Soc Ant ms. 77; PRO E 101 518/5; BL Add ms 34,213.
27. NHB, p. 323.
28. J.R.R. Tolkien, E.V. Gordon and Norman Davis, eds., Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (OCP, 1967), pp. 2-3, 11. 37-34, shows an idealized version of household liturgical processes.
29. NHB, pp. 322-325.
30. Longleat ms. 457, and PRO E 101 518/5, pt. 1.
31. Myers, pp. 133-135.
32. NHB, pp. 325-326.
33. Walter L. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society (Princeton, NJ: UP, 1953), pp. 161-177.
34. Frank LI Harrison, Music in Mediaeval Britain (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), pp. 17-25.
35. Ibid., pp. 25-30.
36. Ibid., pp. 172-174.
37. Soc Ant ms. 77.
38. NHB, pp. 325-326.
39. Harrison, Music, pp. 174-176.
40. Ibid., p. 21.
41. Woodfill, p. 166.
42. Ibid.
43. PRO E 36 220.
44. Collier, p. 511.
45. BL Royal ms 14 B XXXV D.

46. Hope, p. 301.
47. NHB, pp. 325-326.
48. Woodfill, p. 177.
49. Harrison, Music, p. 173.
50. H.F. Lovell-Cocks, The Religious Life of Oliver Cromwell, (London: Independant Press, 1960), especially pp. 68-70, 20-23.
51. W.A. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (CUP, 1955), pp. 253-256.
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55. Rosenthal, Purchase, pp. 7-12.
56. PRO E 36 220.
57. See notes 2. 3, 65.
58. Jones, p. 183.
59. Rosenthal, Nobles, p. 49.
60. Stonor, p. 88.
61. See especially Staffs RO D 641/1/3/4 and BL Add ms Egerton roll 2208, 2209.
62. SOM RO DD/L P37/7, 10, 11, 12, and WAM 12185.
63. NHB, pp. 88-96 and Soc Ant, Collection of Ordinances and Regulations, pp. *27 - *28.
65. Ibid,, pp. 89-91, and NHB, p. 323.
66. I am currently working on this ms., with Mr. A.E. Goodman. It is in the Carlisle RO.

67. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/8.
68. For instance, see SOM RO DD/L P37/7. The average Sunday total was 14s 7d; that of the next-greatest day, 9s 1d.
69. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A93.
70. Ibid., A92.
71. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
72. See Chapter VII.
73. NHB, pp. 88-96, 323.
74. Rowland Parker, The Common Stream (Collins: London, 1975), pp. 91-95.
75. BL Royal ms. 7f XIV, ff. 1-19.
76. Bede Jarret, OP, ed., The English Dominican Province (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1921), especially pp. 151-165; also C. Palmer, "Blackfriars of Bristol," in Reliquary, April, 1888, pp. 70-80.
77. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
78. PRO E 36 220.
79. SOM RO DD/L P37/7; Soc Ant ms 77; Longleat ms. BPA 5949; Staffs RO D 1721/1/5.
80. Staffs RO D (W) 1721/1/5.
81. See especially SOM RO DD/L P37/7, the Luttrell day-book.
82. BL Add ms roll 3962 and PRO C 47 37/4/12-14.
83. See Stonor, pp. 80-88; also PRO C 47 37/7.
84. See especially PRO E 36 220.
85. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
86. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A93.
87. Ibid., A92.
88. Longleat ms. BPA 5949.
89. Hope, pp. 275-348.
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91. David Pockock, Understanding Social Anthropology (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975), pp. 170-180.
92. SL & P 2, no. 358.
93. SL & P 1, pp. XIX-XXVI. See also John Lewis, Anthropology Made Simple (London: W.H. Allen, 1975), pp. 155-157.
94. SL & P 1, pp. XIX-XXIII.
95. Lewer, pp. 7-16.
96. BL Royal ms 14 B XXXV D.
97. Stonor, p. 00.
98. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
99. John Evans, "The Wedding of Richard Posted and Elizabeth, Daughter of William More of Loseley," in Archaeologia, vol. 36(1), 1855, pp. 35-52.
100. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
101. Collier, p. 506.
102. Lewer, pp. 7-16.
103. See the 13th Earl's will in Hope, pp. 278-280.
- 104..See Lewis, Anthropology, pp. 155-157, and John Middleton, ed., Gods and Rituals (London: Texas UP, 1967).
105. SL & P 2, nos. 342, 343.
106. Ibid., 1, no. 138.
107. PRO C 47 37/3/30-33.
108. Rosenthal, Purchase, p. 18.
109. SOM RO DD/L P37/10, C; 11.
111. Rawcliffe, p. 98, for example.
112. See in especiall PRO E 36 220.
113. SL & P 1, no. 47.
114. Note his attachment to Dr. Mandeville OP of Bristol (see note 76).
115. SL & P 1, p. xlvii.

116. PRO E 36 220; PRO E 101 631/20; BL Royal ms 7f XIV, ff 1-19; Staffs RO D 1721/1/8.
117. Nicholas Harris Nicholas, Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York and Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV (London, 1830).
118. PRO E 36 220.
119. Ibid.
120. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
121. SOM RO DD/L P37/9 and PRO C 47 37/5/1-9.
122. SOM RO DD/L P37/11, 12.
123. PRO E 36 220.
124. He appears in Ibid and also BL Royal ms. 7f XIV, ff. 1-19.
125. See especially BL Add ms 34,213 and Staffs RO D 1721/1/5.
126. See Chapter IV.
127. Compare for instance with the Wardrobe and Household Accounts of Bogo de Clare 1284-1286. (see Appendix D), who gave 2s per annum in alms.
128. Soc Ant, A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations, p. 89; and Jones, p. 184.
129. Furnivall, Babees Book, p. 17.
130. Braithwait, pp. 4-5; Jones, p. 186.

CHAPTER X.

1. Homes, pp. 113-115; Cipolla, Before the Industrial Revolution, (London: Methuen, 1978), pp. 27-44, 115-118.
2. T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People (London: Fontana/Collins, 1979), pp. 111-135.
3. COED, p. 1452 (354), definition 6a: "An established law, custom, usage, practice, organization, or other element in the political or social life of a people; a regulative principle or convention subservient to the needs of an organized community or the general ends of civilization," contrasts with 6b, mentioning fixity and importance, and 7, including an "establishment...eg., a church, school, college, hospital, asylum, reformatory, mission, or the like..."
4. McFarlane, p. 280.
5. Chapter VII, p. 213-214.
6. Since the ultimate end of certain products purchased is not always clear it is difficult to be sure of such figures; but an examination of Appendix B, illustrates this principle to some extent.
7. Excepting that directed against maintaining quarrels in 1327, which cannot have affected noble patronage in the same way as the later statutes.
8. See for instance Myers, p. 34.
9. See chapter V on householders, and chapter IV on household organization.
10. See Cipolla, pp. 198-205, 231-233.
11. A view expressed in nearly all the courtesy books in Furnivall, Babees Book; in particular "Stans Puer ad Mensam," "The ABC of Aristotle" and Rhode's "Book of Nurture."

12. The doggerel rhythm, formulaic repetition and stanzaic form of most courtesy books illustrates that they were probably oral transmissions in the main.
13. See note 11.
14. See such courtesy books as "The Goodwife's Admonition to Her Daughters" and "The Goodman's Address to His Son," in Furnivall, Babees Book and Book of Precedence, etc.
15. McFarlane, p. 280.
16. See chapter II, pp. 57-58.
17. Chatsworth Muniments, Clifford Accounts, 12, 13, 13A
18. William Basse; R. Warwick Bond, ed., The Poetical Works of William Basse (London: Ellis and Elvey, 1893), especially pp. 1-18.
19. Philippe Aries, Centuries of Childhood (London: MacMillan, 1968), pp. 113-118.
20. Merlin Waterson, The Servants' Hall: A Domestic History of Erddig (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 35-36, 76-77, 163-187.
21. Ibid., pp. 187-206.
22. Cheshire RO, DC H/K/2/8, 10.
23. See Chapter IV, pp. 132-134, and Chapter VI, pp. 189-192.
24. Waterson, pp. 56, 79, 124.

APPENDIX C.

1. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/7.
2. PRO E 101 518/5 pt. 1.
3. Staffs RO D 641/1/2/23.
4. Staffs RO D 1721/1/1 fo. 382.
5. Soc Ant ms 77.
6. Kent RO Cat Mk U1475 A91, A93.
7. SOM RO DD/L P37/7.
8. SOM RO DD/L P37/10,A.
9. SL & P, 1, nos. 29, 30 and 2, no. 338.
10. Ibid., 1, no. 56.
11. Ibid., no. 115.
12. Ibid., no. 172.
13. PRO E 101 624/22.
14. Chatsworth Muniments, Clifford Accounts, 6, 7, and 9.
15. Devon RO CR 1466.
16. Cambridge University Library Hengrave Hall mss. 82(3).
17. Kerrison and Smith, eds.
18. Essex RO D/DP A6, A17. See also Davis, Paston Letters, vol. 1, nos. 201, 410, 417, 848; and Thomas Stapleton, ed.m Plumpton Correspondence (Camden Society, 1839), pp. cxviii, clxv and 202-203.
19. NHB, sections III and V.
20. SALOP RO BOX 85, Bridgewater Collection, SR 0212:2, 3.
21. University of Nottingham Library MiA 29; also nos. 24, 25, 30, 32, 33. The text is published as Thomas Elyot; Foster Watson, ed., The Boke Named the Governour (London: Dent, nd).
22. Furnivall, ed., Babees Book and Book of Precedence, etc.

23. See Appendix A-II for a list of his accounts.
24. Staffs RO D 641/1/3/3, 4.
25. Soc Ant ms 77 and Essex RO D/DPR 139.
26. PRO E 101, 91, 92, 93.

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 roll 5962 (1444-1445), year-roll
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 34,213 (1465-1466), day-book

Public Record Office

E 36 220 (1520), day-book
 E 101 518/5 (1517), chequerroll
 E 101 631/20 (1513-1514), wardrobe year-roll

Staffordshire Record Office

D 641/1/3/3 (1445-1446), list of Creditors
 D 641/1/3/4 (1452-1453), year-roll
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Westminster Abbey Muniments

5472 (1468-1469), day-book
 5472* (1468-1469), day-book
 5479** (tempus Edward IV), expense accounts
 12181 (1466-1467), day-book
 12182 (1468-1469), day-book
 12183 (1470-1471), day-book
 12184 (1469-1470), day-book
 12185 (1468), day-book
 12186 (1468-1469), day-book
 12187 (1469-1470), day-book
 12188 (1469-1470), day-book
 12189 (1470-1471), day-book
 12190 (1470-1471), day-book
 22911 (1466-1467), day-book
 31795 (1468-1469), fragment of day-book

B de Vere Household Accounts

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Additional mss: 34,324, f1 (1524), Ordinance
 38,632, f.113 (1524), Ordinance
 40,009, a,b (1437-1438) expense account
 Hargrave mss: 22,712 (1524), Ordinance
 24,943 (1524), Ordinance

Essex Record Office

D/DPR 136 (1250-1290), day-roll
 D/DPR 137 (1431-1432), year-roll

Longleat House Muniments

Ms. Longleat BPA 5949 (1506-1507), day-book

Society of Antiquaries

Ms. 77, fs 126-138 (1490-1491), day-book

C Cromwell Household Accounts

Kent Record Office

Cat Mk U1475 A82 (1417-1418), year-roll
 Cat Mk U1475 A83 (1419-1420), year-roll
 Cat Mk U1475 A88 (1473), quarter-roll
 Cat Mk U1475 A90 (1444-1446), kitchen year-roll
 Cat Mk U1475 A91 (1450-1451), year-roll
 Cat Mk U1475 A92 (1475), day-book
 Cat Mk U1475 A93 (1447), day-book

D Luttrell Household Accounts

Somerset Record Office

DD/L P37/7 (1405-1406), day-roll
 DD/L P37/9 (1421-1422), year-roll
 DD/L P37/10-A (1422-1423), year-roll
 DD/L P37/10-B (1423-1424), year-roll
 DD/L P37/10-C (1425-1426), year-roll
 DD/L P37/11 (1428-1429), year-roll
 DD/L P37/12 (1430-1431), half-year roll

E Stonor Household Accounts

Public Record Office

Cl47 37 1/25 (1378), day-roll
 Cl47 37 2 (1432-1433), day-book
 Cl47 37 3/21 (1466), expense account
 Cl47 37 3/23 (1466-1468), expense account
 Cl47 37 3/24 (1468-1472), chequerroll
 Cl47 37 3/26-27 (1468-1469), day-roll
 Cl47 37 3/28-33, 37-43 (1468-1471), day-roll
 Cl47 37 4/2 (1470), year-roll
 Cl47 37 4/5 (1470), expense account
 Cl47 37 4/12-14 (1474-1475), expense accounts
 Cl47 37 4/16 (1475), bill
 Cl47 37 4/17 (1475), bill
 Cl47 37 4/24 (1476-1477), day-book
 Cl47 37 4/26 (1477), expense account
 Cl47 37 4/33-34 (1478-1479), day-book
 Cl47 37 4/35 (1478), expense account
 Cl47 37 4/36 (1479), list of Creditors
 Cl47 37 4/47-56 (1481-1482), day-book
 Cl47 37 4/57 (1481-1482), bill
 Cl47 37 4/59 (tempus Edward IV), day-book
 Cl47 37 5/1 (1482), expense-account
 Cl47 37 5/2 (tempus Edward IV), expense account
 Cl47 37 5/3 (1476), expense account
 Cl47 37 5/4 (tempus Edward IV), expense account
 Cl47 37 5/6 (tempus Edward IV), expense account
 Cl47 37 5/7 (tempus Edward IV), expense account
 Cl47 37 5/8 (tempus Edward IV), expense account
 Cl47 37 5/9 (tempus Edward IV), expense account
 Cl47 37 5/17 (tempus Edward IV), expense account
 Cl47 37 5/20 (tempus Edward IV), building accounts
 Cl47 37 5/22 (tempus Edward IV), day-book fragment
 Cl47 37 7 (1478), day-book
 Cl47 37 9/41 (1470), expense account
 Cl47 37 18/8 (1440), bill
 Cl47 37 18/21 (tempus Edward IV), expense account
 Cl47 37 18/25 (1467 or 1472), day-book
 Cl47 37 18/22 (1472), bill
 Cl47 37 18/30 (1477), expense account
 Cl47 37 18/32 (1478), expense account

F Other Manuscripts

- 1 Berkeley Castle Muniments
 - General Series No. 32 (early 16th c.)
 - General Series No. 33 (1584-1585)
- 2 Berkshire Record Office
 - W/Z-H 1 (1171)
- 3 Bodleian Library
 - Dugdale ms. 43, f1 (1544)
 - Ms Eng. Hist. b.208 (early 16th c.)
 - English Hist. ms. c.267 (R)oll (1541-1542)
 - Ms. Fairfax 24, ff.52-53 (mid-14th c.)
 - Lyell ms. 35, ff.35-38 (1478-1479)
 - Ms Rawl. B 146 (early 16th c.)
- 4 British Library
 - Add ms. chs. 17229-17231 (1432-1459)
 - Add ms. 24,513 f 185 (1414-1415)
 - Add ms. 28,564 ff 253-268
 - Add ms. 32,091 (1427-1428)
 - Add ms. 33,376, f.11
 - Add ms. 37,494 ff.2 et seq. (1372-1374)
 - Harleian 4971 ff 6b-8, 26-29b (15th c.)
 - Lansdowne ms. 560, ff.35-37 (15th c.)
 - Stowe ms. 554, ff.23b and 43b (1542)
- 5 Cambridge University Library
 - Ee. IV 20, ff.144-146b (15th c.)
 - Hengrave Hall mss. 82 [1-3] (1541-1572)
- 6 Chatsworth Muniments
 - Clifford Accounts 1,2,3,6,7,9,11,12,12A,13,13A (1510-1594)
- 7 Essex Record Office
 - D/DP A. 1-4,10,12,3,16,17,18 (1539-1571)
 - D/DPR 135A, 138-140 (1442-1500)
 - D/DRG 2/13 (1483-1484)
- 8 Greater London (Middlesex) Record Office
 - Acc. 446/H/1,2,12,13 (1546-1556)
- 9 Hampshire Record Office
 - 23 M 58/57b (1450-1451)
- 10 Hull University Library
 - DDLO/20/50 (1438-1439)
 - DDLO/20/51 (1475-1476)
 - DDLO/20/54 (1413-1414)
- 11 John Rylands Library
 - JRL ms 394 (late 14th c.)
- 12 Leeds Record Office
 - Mexborough Collection: Manorial Records, Thorner: Accounts
 - 9,13,14 (1418-1448)
- 13 Longleat House Mss.
 - 6410 (1448-1449)
- 14 Norfolk and Norwich Record Office
 - NH 1 (1328-1329)
 - NH 15/1, 2 (1549-1555)
 - NH 15/3-10 (1532-1549)
 - NH 14, 24, 25, 30 (1555-1579)
- 15 Nottingham University Library
 - MIA 1 (1304-1305)
 - MIA 2-41 (1509-1559)
 - MII 2, 33-37 (1550-1559)

- 16 Nottingham Record Office
 - Foljambe VIII B/1/iii/5 (1299)
 - Foljambe VIII B/2/v/33 (1318-1319)
- 17 Public Record Office
 - Cl7 3/1 (Tempus John or Henry III)
 - Cl7 3/9 (Tempus John or Henry III)
 - Cl7 3/15/2 (1293)
 - Cl7 3/21/12 (1292-1293)
 - Cl7 3/33 (1283)
 - Cl7 3/46/31 (1292-1293)
 - Cl7 8/a-b (1411-1419)
 - DL 28/1-10 (1390-1393)
 - DL 28/11 (1283-1284)
 - DL 28/1/91/8-10 (1300-1305)
 - DL 29/1/3-4 (1319-1320)
 - E 36 218 (1518)
 - E 36 223 (1523-1524)
 - E 36 225 (1531-1532)
 - E 36 226 (1524-1525)
 - E 36 256 (1536-1539)
 - E 36 282, 283 (early 16th c.)
 - E 101 91/11-27
 - E 101 92/4-16
 - E 101 93/3-16 (1326-1359)
 - E 101 94/2-17
 - E 101 95/1-10
 - E 101 350/9 (Tempus John or Henry III)
 - E 101 370/19 (Tempus Edward I)
 - E 101 371/8/972 (Tempus Edward I)
 - E 101 371/897 (Tempus Edward I)
 - E 101 372/4 (1320)
 - E 101 505/17 (1230)
 - E 101 505/25-27 (1294-1296)
 - E 101 505/30 (1302)
 - E 101 506/19 (1312)
 - E 101 509/29
 - E 101 510/4 (Tempus Edward III)
 - E 101 510/13 (Tempus Edward III)
 - E 101 510/14 (Tempus Edward III)
 - E 101 510/17 (Tempus Edward III)
 - E 101 510/21 (1379-1380)
 - E 101 511/15 (1391-1392)
 - E 101 518/46 (1528)
 - E 101 519/21 (Tempus Henry VIII)
 - E 101 520/5 (1548)
 - E 101 520/9 (1553)
 - E 101 520/11 (day-book)
 - E 101 624/22 (1341-1342)
 - E 101 631/1 (Tempus Henry II or Richard I)
 - E 101 631/43 (1553)
- 18 Salop Record Office
 - Box 85 Bridgewater Collection SR 0212:1-7 (1393-1425)
- 19 Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office
 - DR 3/731 a and b (1533-1534)
- 20 Society of Antiquaries Library
 - Ms. 624 (1527-1532)

- 21 Somerset Record Office
DD/L P37/5 (1427)
DD/L P37/13-43 (1401-1431)
DD/L P37/44 (1434)
- 22 Staffordshire Record Office
D 641/1/3/1 (1307-1308)
D 641/1/3/2 (1397)
- 23 Trinity College, Dublin, Library
E.5.13, pp.405-410 (15th c.)
- 24 Warwickshire Record Office
CR 895/106 (1510-1551)
CR 1618/W19/6 (1431-1432)
- 25 Westminster Abbey Muniments
3527 (1463-1465)
9215 (1463-1465)
- 26 Westminster Diocesan Archives
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